

AGENDA FOR MEETING WITH PRESIDENT ON OCTOBER 11

85

I. POLL DATA FROM OCTOBER 10 -- SCHOEN

A. Overall numbers

1. Lead over Dole from 1 point on Sept 14 to 10 points on Oct 10
  - a. among independents went from 41-40 to 43-29
  - b. Our vote went from 44 to 46 in total sample -- 4 to go!
2. Job approval Aug: 54-44 Sept: 55-43 Now: 57-39
3. Biggest change in last month: foreign policy from 45-51 to 54-43
4. Clinton vs Republicans:
  - a. Balance budget June 48-28 Aug: 44-31 Sept: 50-32 Oct: 43-39
  - b. bal bud fair to all cl-47 reps-38
  - c. protect medicare from budget cuts cl-61 reps-25
  - d. in touch with my values up 4
  - e. down 7 on helps education -- need to put message up
  - f. losing cutting taxes comparison by 35-48
  - g. fight crime cl 42 reps 44 -- same as after ads ran in July -- no diminution. Media lasts and lasts.
  - h. Are Republicans just cutting enough to balance budget or are they cutting so much they seem to be mean spirited?  
50--cutting just enough 40--mean spirited
- I. among elderly we went from 48-36 to 59-27 vs Dole

B. Impact of Ads

1. VIRTUALLY ALL THE GROWTH WAS IN MARKETS WE ARE ADVERTISING IN

2. Almost no changes on attributes outside of buy areas -- inside of areas:

- a. Protect med from cuts up 9 in buy areas up 3 in non buy areas
- b. values up 9 in buy areas up 1 in non buy areas
- c. clear stands on issues up 8 in buy down 1 in nonbuy

(This is not just of seen ads -- its of markets as a whole)

3. Optimism --- Very high no national funk

- a. Will your career improve (57) get worse (8) same (33)
- b. Future children improve (52) worse (21) same (20)
- c. eco position of you and family improve 49 worse 12 same 35
- d. Amer econ in general improve 38 worse 22 same 32

--no pessimism and 2-1 positive

- e. Areas where more worse than better only health care minus 11  
avoid war minus 2

- f. Technology is our friend: helps more than hurts by 69-24

- g. ON ECONOMY -- OPTIMISM ABOUT SELF, CAUTIOUS  
OPTIMISM ABOUT NATION, MINOR PESSIMISM

- h areas of real worry are: values, families, crime, health care,  
retirement

## II. BUDGET SITUATION -- WE ARE WINNING KEEP UP PRESSURE

A. Republicans in bad shape and bad position

1. We have closed gap on trust more to bal the budg from 18 to 7 to 4
2. We are now 9 points ahead on bal the bud in a way that's fair
3. Bankruptcy argument is gone
4. All the ~~Republicans~~ have to "inevitability" as their argument

**B. Need to continue ads**

*Oct 11 '95 PJ*

1. Ads are producing important movement and we need to continue them
2. If "train wreck" ads give us reason to hold firm
3. If "deal" ads give us criteria for victory and basis for getting credit
4. During negotiations, ads give us a context to see moves as means to an end, not flip flops or weakness
5. Reaching 97 Republican and 71 Democratic Congressional Districts

**C. Content**

1. Stay on cuts until Republicans signal negotiations -- keep up pressure
2. Put on education ad in rotation with medicare and, later medicaid
  - a. slippage on education, need to get it back in the game
3. Then, move to conciliation ads to set up pressure on Republicans for making a deal and laying basis for taking issue away
  - a. these ads context negotiations and don't make them flip flops

**D. Weight**

1. First two weeks were \$1.25 million each, recommend next week at \$1 million. Then, when negotiations start going back up to \$1.25
  - a. Go to \$1 million for next week to save money so buy can stretch through mid December
  - b. Go back up to \$1.25 million in third week because that is likely

Oct 11 '95 & 4

time for negotiations to begin

E. Likely elements of a deal -- my own opinion

1. Republicans accept \$300 billion of revised growth and medical inflation estimates

- a. basic first step -- no talks until they do
- b. they cite Republican successes on economy and holding down medical care costs
- c. they "demand" a look back provision with a super majority (2/3) for override

2. Serious talks take place after record votes in House and Senate -- likely after about October 23

- a. during conference, but before final passage
- b. Republicans signal their need to come to us by revising growth and inflation estimates
- c. Dems get Reps on record votes and making first move through revision of inflation and growth estimates

3. Two core issues:

- a. will we accept super majority on look back?
- b. will we accept negotiations during conference, without awaiting final passage?
- c. I say "yes" to both. We don't want to be doing this up against the Nov 15 deadline and with the leverage the Republicans will have at that point

1. relative ease of this CR not likely to be repeated

2. they will enter the negotiations weak because of growth and inflation revisions

III. PRESIDENTIAL STYLE

## **A. The Father Image vs Peer vs Child**

### **1. In Arkansas, image was of their child**

- a. promising at first, then chasened, then reformed, then excelling  
and making them proud**

### **2. In campaign, image was of peer**

- a. down to earth -- bus rides, town meetings, one on ones**
- b. contrast with starchy formality of Bush**

### **3. Now, increasingly, image must be of father**

- a. country craves fathers -- Cosby, Lion King,**
- b. women crave men who act responsibly -- Romance novel  
themes are now of woman done wrong and rescued by  
Mr. Right**

### **4. Images of Father**

#### **a. literal fathering through personal experiences**

- 1. don't have to tell about Chelsea, but can describe your  
own feelings doing homework with her, camping  
out, etc.**

#### **b. Issues about fathering: personal responsibility, child support, education, child TV**

#### **c. Fathering style in speeches and Q & A**

- 1. don't explain yourself overly -- fathers don't**
- 2. don't complain (about lack of credit for accomplishmnts,  
for example)**
- 3. no contemporary images like Blues Brothers**
- 4. Correct style: Memphis speech**
- 5. don't have peer group conversations with audience --  
speak to them**

6. don't be self-deprecating
7. don't ask questions -- give answers
8. don't be around unkempt kids, they need to show respect
9. maintain sense of distance not eye to eye
10. lectern should be small enough to tower over it

#### IV HOW TO OVERCOME ISOLATIONISM -- PENN PRESENTATION

#### V. CLINTON'S THIRD TERM -- THE STATE OF THE UNION

A. After first term -- first two years, and second term -- the Gingrich years, now

B. New ideas for third term -- being developed with Bruce Reed based on meetings with Glickman, Brown, Cisneros, Tyson, Reilly, and Reich

C. We will poll as we proceed

D. Areas for new ideas --- each meeting, we'll go over a bunch

##### 1. Layoff Protection

- a. portable tax credit financed by penalty on laying off company and going to hiring company via employee voucher
- b. limits on importation of skilled workers where Americans have been replaced
- c. lowering unemployment comp rates on companies that don't lay off and increases on those that do
- d. require disclosure of layoffs before Justice or FTC Ok's mergers or acquisitions and factor them in in public interest determination ( approved in poll by 57-35)

#### VI COMMUNICATIONS IDEAS

AGENDA FOR MEETING WITH PRESIDENT ON OCTOBER 25

95

I. POLLING DATA -- CONTINUES UPWARD MOVEMENT

A. Clinton vote (vs Dole) up from 44 to 45 to 46 to 47(now)

a. Margin over dole now 11 pts (up from 10 last poll)

1. where we are advertising, we are ahead by 14

...where we are not advertising, we are ahead by only 9

B. Clinton re-elect number from 38 to 40

C. Definite against Clinton from 37 to 35 to 32 to 33 to 30 (now)

D. Approval steady at 57% (but could be higher based on limited sample)

II. THE BUDGET SITUATION AS POLLED

A. If Clinton vetoed medicare cuts, more likely to vote for him 44-14

1. swing 1 58-5 swing 2 33-14

B. Argumentation on Budget Scenarios:

1. Republicans say need balanced budget, cuts are needed, need to save medicare from bankruptcy agree CL 50 agree rep 38

a. even without any of our argument, we win by 12

2. Clinton answers cuts in medicare are bad and not needed CL 57 reps 34

3. Repubs say need to cut waste in education, better at local level  
Cl 57 reps 36

4. Clinton says education is vital, don't cut it Cl 63 reps 32

5. Repubs say cut taxes 245 bill, cap gains, family credit, IRAs Cl 47 reps  
46

a. Republican right move is to switch debate to tax cuts

6. Alternative Clinton defenses on taxes:

- a. tax cut for rich Cl 60 reps 30
- b. tax hike on working poor Cl 64 reps 31

c. EITC is better than tax cut for rich

7. Summary question: republics say carrying out mandate of contract to bal budg and cut taxes vs. Cl says fighting for values on medicare and education: Cl 52 reps 38

a. clear mandate for us vs them on the plans and issues

### C. Polling on Default and Negotiation

- 1. should Republicans pass budget as is without negotiating 11-86
- 2. If Reps say they will pass bill without compromise: Cl veto 65 sign 25

a. strong belief reps must be flexible

3. Statement of Clinton principles followed by: should Clinton stand on principles or should he compromise? 64 stand firm 31 compromise

a. but Clinton should not be flexible

4 Statement of Rep principles follow by: should reps compromise after a veto or stand firm. 20 stand firm 76 compromise

a. Republicans must give, Clinton should not — perfect

5. Should Republicans pass short term resolutions to prevent default or should they stand firm for their budget cuts before they pass such resolutions 62-28 they should pass short term resolutions

a. Republicans will be seen as unreasonable

6. If a breakdown, who is to blame Cl 25 reps 58

7. Final result of budget fight

a. If Clinton forces Reps to agree to his principles and budget

Cl 62 Dole 28

b. If Stalemate continues for 90 days



CI 55 Dole 30

c. If govt operated on interim and no budget agreement is ever reached

CI 52 Dole 30

III. ADVERTISING -- THE KEY TO CONTINUED GROWTH AND BUDGET WIN.

Oct 25, 195 p3

A. Despite week of tax increase comment flap and 7 year flap, we moved up

B. Manage debate, cover moves on budget, set up end game

C. Budget for Ads

1. Spent already: \$4.2 million through November 1

2. Proposed: November 2-21 spend \$5.4 million through Dec 1

1. Nov 2-8: \$1.8 mil Nov 9-15 \$1.8 mil Nov 16-33 \$1.5 mil  
Nov 27-30 \$300,000

2. In November: Expand from 28% of America in current buy to 40-45 percent of country

3. And go up from current 325/week to 400/week

4. Left for December: \$400,000.

a. if we need to run in December, likely cost would be about \$2.5 million or \$2.1 mil more

D. Targeting Media -- Presentation by Penn

E. Ads -- Presentation by Squier

III. GOAL FOR NOVEMBER: SHOW TOUGHNESS IN DOING THE RIGHT THING

A. In September, we explained our budget values

B. In October, we worked to find common ground over these values

1. on race
2. on middle east and bosnia
3. through ads on the budget

C. November is about hanging tough for these values and for what is right

1. major problem is perception of weakness by about 20% of American voters

- a. the lid on our popularity and vote share
- b. what added to the 30% that are hostile over draft, Whitewater, scandals, etc, it creates potential for defeat

2. the process is the issue.....

- a. troops to Bosnia and the budget situation both provide opportunity for live, prime time view of President being tough

- b. or, they carry the possibility of showing weakness and undoing all the good work of 1995

- a. as in funk, tax increase, and seven years

- c. the last chance we will have before the election to perform, real time, before the people when they are paying rapt attention

- 3.....not the outcome

- a. if we get a balanced budget, it is great. if we don't its OK too

1. people believe we want a balanced budget and welfare reform. We don't need to win the issue any more, we already have won it

2. if we have the issue of our plan vs their plan for all of 96, its a sure winner

- a. look at how we have gained in August-October over the issue

- b. Impact on Powell -- offsetting

1. if a deal, his candidacy is less likely

but this is Dole's problem before it is yours'

b. let Dole cave to keep him out, we don't have to

2. if no deal, then his candidacy will be overshadowed by the budget

a. it will dwarf personality and charisma like Vietnam or Watergate did

b. to win primaries, he'll have to embrace cuts but that will straitjacket him in November

c. summary on Powell -- with a deal, he's less likely to run. With no deal, he's less likely to win

#### IV. THE BUDGET STRATEGY — TENACITY, STUBBORNNESS, NO CONCESSIONS

A. Preconditions allow extreme expression of strength and uncompromising determination

1. public believes we should stand firm 64-31 and they should cave 20-76

a. partially that we are right and partially that they are pig-headed

b. so you don't have to be open minded

2. public thinks our budget plan is OK and theirs' is terrible

a. so you can't shouldn't and mustn't give an inch

3. public gets that you are for welfare reform and a balanced budget

a. on balanced budget trust we are behind by only 5

b. on balanced budget fair to all we are ahead by 9

c. welfare reform we are ahead by 7

d. therefore: we don't need a win. indefinite continuation of process is enough

e. so you can veto it without losing the issue

4. we are on paid media and that is doing everything to shape public attitudes

a. so we can be forceful and strong in public and even err on the side of rigidity because our media is showing people why we are taking so hard a stand

B. Step One -- disarm the enemy --- take away default option

1. Default -- Gingrich's and Dole's biggest weapon is also their biggest vulnerability

a. they are only capable of Mutually Assured Destruction and thus are prisoners of a "massive retaliation strategy." There is no room for "flexible response."

2. Attack Reps for holding a loaded gun aimed at your head

a. take away the ability to use default by letting public opinion and the markets take the possibility away from Gingrich

b. Gingrich is the Republican, he can't mess with markets like that

c. Dole is running for President and he sure can't do it

1. irresponsible

2. unstable

3. by demanding that he drop the threat, we show toughness, face him down and win

a. we show how unreasonable the Republicans are

b. we mobilize elite and mass opinion against their choice of weapons and thuggish tactics quite apart from the merits of the issue

4. We get to hit them in their weakest part -- causing recession

5. for all of the above reasons, we are picking a fight we can and will almost inevitably win

C. Step Two -- refuse to budge on basic principles

1. Use paid and free media to show what we are not negotiating about
2. Treat it like a labor negotiation in which each side endlessly repeats its mantra and there is no give
3. Turn talks over to Leon -- don't demean yourself by doing talks yourself
4. Each day, use post negotiation press conferences to affirm your inflexibility. Don't show progress, show stubbornness.

D. Step Three -- If they surrender, accept it..... if they don't settle for having the issue for 1996

1. we don't need a deal. we have an issue instead
2. achieve the inner peace of wanting a deal only on your terms and of being delighted to live with no deal at all

E. If country goes broke and closes down -- use crisis to show toughness

1. use paid and free media to cultivate blitz atmosphere circa London, 1940
2. Rally Americans to fight for education and medicare and environment and not to yield to blackmail
3. Use ads to shape what the issues are about
4. Use pension and other moves to keep afloat for three or four months
  - a. no need to get to social security or medicare funds, but if it comes to that, we'll use them and survive it politically
    1. once people understand what's at stake and grasp that we won't give in to blackmail, it will be an heroic experience for you

#### IV. DRESS

- A. you're not looking Presidential in light colored suits
- B. suggest you adopt red tie and navy suit as standard

V. OPTIMISM AS THEME -- Penn Presentation

VI. ANALYSIS OF IOWA SPEECH -- Morris Presentation

VII. OTHER ISSUES

A. Child TV

1. Do nonconfrontational event urging a Journalism School to set up a grading system, funded by foundations or networks, to grade programs and networks
2. like on time airlines ratings
3. Every month, the dirty dozen of programs
4. Every month, which network had the best programming
5. get TV guide and newspapers to publish grades
6. voluntary, no censorship, just harness market forces

B. Enterprise zones tax credit

1. as alternative to GOP tax cut in capital gains, reward investments in enterprise zone areas
2. move toward community basing (a la affirmative action)
3. good source of pork for House budget votes with rural white Dems
4. cover for cuts in public housing
5. reply to racial initiatives and March on Washington
6. sell it as Welfare Reform Part 2

a. in part one we required they work, in part 2 we'll create the jobs

C. Japan

1. in Seattle, en route, highlight good news of deal -- auto parts sales
2. In Japan, highlight unfulfilled commitments on dealerships and talk tough

#### **D.. Deregulation**

1. Heighten efforts to get Robb to back off so we can get a bad bill to veto
2. Let Dole pass a bad bill in the Senate with few improvements
3. Issue opens up a host of offensive opportunities on environment, consumerism, air safety, etc.

#### **E. Cuba**

1. Dangerous political impact in Florida for no political gain at all in normalizing relations

#### **F. Political Reform -- Schoen**

#### **G. Affirmative Action in California**

1. poll shows any positive solution is rejected, so don't pose alternative
2. even a quota prohibition won't work as a replacement because those who backed the conservative initiative on aff act back the quota by 73-17 while the liberals who opposed the aff act initiative split evenly on a quota ban 44-41.
  - a. if we banned quotas as alternative, conservatives would get the point, submit to discipline and run out on us while liberals would never side with us in the first place

D

## AGENDA FOR MEETING WITH PRESIDENT ON NOVEMBER 1, 1995

### I. SUMMARY OF POLL DATA

A. Approval is now 58-37 -- up from 57 two weeks ago and 55 a month ago

1. highest level we have ever recorded

B. Clinton vs Dole 46-36

a. in markets advertised: 48-31

b. rest of nation: 45-39

C. Clinton vs Powell 45-31

a. in markets advertised: 38-38

b. rest of nation 28-47

### II. BUDGET STRATEGY -- NEED TO RESIST NEGOTIATING OR CALLS TO NEGOTIATE

A. Republicans will plead for negotiations -- they are "withering on the vine"

B. Opinion Leaders and Editorials will say we are being unreasonable.

1. that is the way to show strength

2. criticism over inflexibility is the way to show firmness

a. the criticism would have to go on for months for  
it to have anything but a positive effect

3. public wants a veto

a. Question: "last week the Republican majority in Congress passed bills they say will balance the budget in 7 years. The bill contains \$270 bil in cuts in medicare spending, \$70 bil cuts in education spending, major cuts in environmental programs, and tax changes which would raise taxes on some working families, but lower them on others support-33 oppose 63"



- b. Do you think Clinton and Republicans are just engaging in normal political bickering or are important issues at stake in the budget debate such as the future of medicare

bickering 29    important issues 61

- c. more or less likely to vote for Clinton over a veto

more likely 46    less likely 15

4. public does not want us to compromise -- they want them to compromise

- a. We stated pure Republican principles. Do you want Repubs to compromise or stand firm?

Compromise a lot-38 vs Stand Firm-15  
( 44% said compromise a little)

- b. We stated pure Clinton principles. Do you want Clinton to compromise or stand firm?

Compromise a lot-17 vs Stand Firm-21  
( 59% said compromise a little)

- c. in ad markets: Repub 47 compromise a lot vs 9 stand firm  
rest of country Repub 35 compromise a lot vs 17 stand firm

5. Don't float rationales for compromise or ideas for compromise in public or in private. If you whisper it, it will make its way out

6. Republicans only weapon is debt limit and CR and the public will hate them for using blackmail once they start to do it even more than they hate their cuts

### III. IDENTIFICATION OF SWING VOTERS -- PENN PRESENTATION

#### IV. Issues on Which We Also Cannot Budge

##### A. Crack-Cocaine

1. Press will be looking for caving by us and we must not let them see any
2. Raising cocaine to equal crack penalties is the right position

3. total inflexibility on lowering crack sentences is vital

#### B. Welfare Reform

1. statistics on additional children in poverty will not move public opinion on this issue -- they will still favor work requirements and time limits
2. stress that the cuts that cause poverty -- legal immigrants, block grants on food stamps are the cuts we oppose
3. would you sign the Senate Bill? Yes. But I'd work to raise the minimum wage, protect EITC and put money behind empowerment zones so there would be no increased poverty

#### V. JAPAN TRIP

- A. Need to continue trade issue offensive--- a failure to raise it now would be a sign that we didn't mean it back in June
  1. Clinton is OK at confrontation through Kantor long distance, but up close, he is so anxious to make the Japanese like him that he folds
- B. Say good news on West Coast on the way out: the sale of auto parts is way up
- C. Say bad news while you are in Japan: lack of dealerships
- D. Don't let sensitivity of Japan over US troops and rape story make you weaken your trade position over there -- the stakes are too important over here

#### VI. WEEKLY FOCUS GROUPS -- PROPOSAL

- A. For duration of budget fight, suggest we do weekly focus groups and submit highlight films to you every week
- B. It will help you get in touch with what people are saying directly, rather than just through data

#### VII. REGO -- A NEW LANGUAGE

- A. Based on focus groups conducted by Alice Rivlin's son --
  1. People embrace attacks on govt. but don't believe anything is happening

2. by stressing achievements, we undermine credibility

a. If something this big were happening, I'd know about it

3. Therefore stress need to cut, not achievement

4. Stress cuts in govt jobs --- "3,000 Jobs Closed At Interior"

a. that's how corporations and cities do it and its the accepted way to push cuts in govt.

b. stress no actual layoffs -- and the number of high level jobs at top salaries being cut "12 jobs paying more than \$60,000 are eliminated

5. Don't have to prove that you are cutting. That is an accepted part of today's govt scene. You fit right in. Just make clear that you want to cut.

#### VIII POLITICAL REFORM -- SCHOEN

#### IX. OPTIMISM POINT -- PENN

#### X. DRESS AND MAKE UP

A. Good suit yesterday for Bosnia statement, but bad tie -- wear bright solid colors

B. On TV, you are looking pale and your nose looks too red. Use make up. Don't do any public statement without makeup. You and I are both "of an age" where it is needed

AGENDA FOR MEETING WITH PRESIDENT ON DECEMBER 7

95

I. TRACKING POLL DATA -- CONTINUATION OF HIGH RATINGS  
DESPITE DISCONTENT OVER BOSNIA  
LESSENING OF WEAKNESS NEGATIVE

A. Basic ratings hold basically firm

1. Approval at 58-41 (steady)
2. Head to head at 49-35 (down from 51-36 pre speech)
3. Re-elect number at 40 (down from 42 pre-speech)

B. Tremendous Growth in personal ratings -- more positives,  
a lot less weakness

1. For the first time, open ended mentions of Clinton  
personal positives equal mentions of personal  
negatives (33 positive vs 35 negative)

a. In the past, it ran 21 positive vs 43 negative

b. major positive mentions:

cares/compassionate 7%  
honest/integrity 7%  
strong leader 6%  
tries hard 6%

others 3% or more: energetic/active, doing  
better, appearance, adaptable/compromises,  
fairness, intelligent

2. Weakness mentions down from 33% to 25%

3. Personal Clinton positives now equal issue positives  
in open ended 33% personal vs 36% issue

a. In the past, a 3-1 ratio of issue vs personal  
positives

4. In ratings, about a 10 point improvement among Dems and Inds.

- a. strong leader: up 8 among Inds
- b. takes clear stands, up 8 among Inds
- c. In touch with my values: up 9 among Inds
- d. effective: up 6 among Inds

**C. Popularity of Peacekeeping Theme**

1. by 48-27 people agree Clinton is a "peacemaker in the world"
2. Given three way choice, people want a peacemaker not a policeman or an isolationist

choices:

37%--we should keep troops at home and pay more attention to our own problems

44%- cant be global policeman, but can do a lot to stop wars and save lives. need to do all we can without putting troops at excessive risk or straining our resources

14%— moral duty to fight injustice and oppression in world and not hesitate to intervene even if troops get in harms way

3. Should stress Peacemaker theme as middle way on post cold war foreign policy in post Paris speech

**D. Little Change on Budget**

1. slight drop in perception that we are cooperating  
from 50 to 44%

a. but shut down was still Republican's fault 48-29

2. slight increase in perception of bickering, not issues  
bickering up from 50 to 55%, important issues  
down from 46% to 40%

a. emphasize issues in free media and go back on the  
air with ads

**II. OVERALL STRATEGY – BUDGET DEAL ESSENTIAL TO  
ADEQUATE VICTORY MARGIN**

A. *Partisan divide in America is basically 40-20-40*

1. *more or less the Clinton-Perot-Bush vote*

2. *even now, 40% say they will  
definitely-probably-possibly vote against Clinton*

B. We are currently at roughly 60% approval / 50% vote share

C. We are unlikely to be able to improve those numbers much  
in the normal course of events

1. We haven't moved beyond these ratings in six weeks

2. Polling predicts these numbers without a budget deal

**D. At a 60% approval, we cannot do better, consistently, than 50% vote share**

- 1. How can we count on getting more than 83% vote share among approvals? We can't**
- 2. But at a 50% vote share, we are locked in a tie race**
- 3. Remember — Incumbent always loses undecideds**

**a. Gallup analysis of undecided distribution:**

1956	Stevenson: 3	Eisenhower: 0
1964:	Goldwater 7	Johnson: 0
1972	McGovern 3	Nixon: 0
1976	Carter: 4	Ford: 1
1980	Reagan 2	Carter 0
1984	Mondale: 2	Reagan: 2
1992	Perot/Cint 5	Bush 1
<b>TOTAL CHALLENG: 26</b>		<b>INCUMB: 4</b>

**E. What is standing in our way of passing 60/50?**

- 1. Perception of weakness acts as a drag**
- 2. Huge partisan divide acts as a ceiling**

**F. First step — overcoming weakness-drag — well on the way to getting done**

**G. Second step -- blowing off the partisan cap**

- 1. Budget deal is essential for this**
- 2. Without a national consensus like we had in 1984,  
incumbent cannot be re-elected by large enough margin  
to breathe easily**
- 3. Unless national consensus is reached on balanced  
budget, tax cuts, and welfare reform, we are  
capped at 60/50...and a tough race**





**C. We need to do the following to claim victory --**

- 1. Absolutely no additional cuts in medicare. Purity is very important here. Probably cannot even do upper income premiums.**
- 2. Education and environment are also very important, although less than medicare -- we have advertised them less**

**a. whether we met these commitments will always be a matter of opinion --**

- 1. How do you define education? Does it include training in Labor Dept, etc.**
- 2. Is the NDD settlement enough to protect education and environment in out years?**
  - a. how realistic are cuts in other areas?  
are they so drastic that we can't sustain them and will have to cut education even if we don't want to?**

**b. therefore: we need --**

- 1. victories on riders**
- 2. ratification from education and environment groups**
- 3. lots of ads to sell that we protected ed and environment**

**3. Medicaid -- not a stated priority in ads, but important**

**1. entitlements has become symbolic issue**  
**a. we need to keep the medicaid entitlement**

**2. purity on medicaid makes it possible for Dems to back larger tax cut which Republicans need**

**4. Welfare -- can't take additional cuts below our current 7 year plan because of kids in poverty report**

**D. To achieve priorities, we basically need:**

**Medicare 146 over Republican budget**  
**Medicaid 109 over Rep. budget**  
**NDD 100 over Rep budget**  
**Welfare 58 over Rep budget**  
**TOTAL \$413**

**E. We might be able to get it from:**

**40- CPI higher than our 7 year plan (70 total)**  
**45- cuts in their tax cut**  
**20- higher corporate welfare than our 7 plan (50 total)**  
**25- transfer of money from health reform line in our 7 plan**

**140 - subtotal**

**needed from additional assumptions: \$273**

**F. How to get additional assumptions**

**1. initial increase of 70-100 next week**  
**2. subsequent increase of 30-40 in medical inflation after OMB-CBO consultation**  
**3. final increase of 150 in consideration of final deal anchored by lookback with super majority**

7

AGENDA FOR MEETING WITH THE PRESIDENT ON FEBURARY 22 96

I. TRACKING POLL – THE OPPORTUNITY TO GAIN WITH  
REPUBLICAN CHAOS SLIPS THROUGH  
OUR HANDS – Mark Penn

A. Head to head lead over Dole slips 6 points

1. Drops from 54-33 to 50-35

2. Reverse upward trend:

a. pre state of union: 48-36

then: 52-34

53-33

54-33

NOW: 50-35

B. Basic ratings are holding steady

1. job approval at 58 (down from 59)

2. re-elect number at 49 (up from 48)

3. vs. Alexander: 51-30

vs. Buchanan: 56-32



D. Vast opportunity – to develop a condominium on the low 50s while Republicans are in disarray

Feb 22  
196

E. Danger – That while everybody is talking "Republican", Clinton is nowhere to be seen and we are not exploiting their negatives to build our strength

## II. Ad Presentation – Squier and Knapp

### A. Ranking of State of the Union Values Message

#### 1. First Tier:

% much more likely

–health insurance reform	60%
–reform welfare	56
–teen pregnancy	56
–fathers care for kids	55
–teach values in school	54
–domestic violence	52
–serve 85% of sentence	51

#### 2. Second Tier:

–pension portable	48
–job training vouchers	47
–foreign lobbyists	47
–deduct tuition	46
–challenge for corporate responsibility	46
–no tobacco ads for kids	45
–wire schools for computers	45
–superfund	44
–campaign finance reform	42

### 3. Third Tier:

--\$1,000 scholarship	38
-- V chip	37
-- evict from public housing	36
--TV ratings	34
--school uniforms	31
--environmental right to know	29
--downsize govt	28

#### B. Animatics:

1. Hard Kids -- crime, health ins, values, pregnancy
2. Soft Kids -- violence in media, tobacco, environ
3. Welfare
4. Economy
5. Father
6. Education
7. Victims -- Domestic violence

## II. NEED FOR BUDGET/WELFARE DEAL

A. Regression analysis shows that rating of effectiveness  
is the single biggest factor in driving increase in vote

1. second place is values, third place is strength

B. Biggest issue in driving vote is to balance the budget fairly

1. second place is health care and crime

**C. Obstacles to Deal are very, very limited:**

**1. Medicare:**

- a. we can go with \$100,000 premium increase
- b. we can go with larger provider cuts
- c. by giving Republicans a higher gross cut relative to our a smaller net cut we can bridge the gap in expectations

**2. Medicaid**

**a. Assured Package of Benefits**

- 1. voters agree with Governor control vs. federal say by 49-40
- 2. possible compromise: specification of minimum benefits in bill, just as minimum population coverage is specified

**b. Judicial Review: state vs federal**

- 1. voters back state courts over federal by 67-31
- 2. with 11 lawsuits all last year, this is hardly a key issue
- 3. compromise: federal review after state court remedies are exhausted

**c. Obviously, we need to roll back the provider tax kickback in the Governors' plan**

d. Voters do want expansion of coverage to teens  
by 63-30

1. full expansion to 18 would cost \$6 billion

2. Possible compromise: expand to 15:  
\$3 billion

e. formula — obviously, we have to pin down costs  
and address the vagueness

### 3. Food Stamps

#### a. entitlement

1. votes back block grants over entitlement  
by: 61-31

2. possible compromise: block grant until  
trigger of state or national unemploy-  
ment is reached. Then entitlement

a. public backs this by 60-33

b. if you set the trigger low enough,  
you could, in effect, keep  
entitlement by providing  
the trigger would kick in when the  
food stamp needs exceeded the  
block grant amount

c. if you kept it high enough, it wouldn't  
trigger a new CBO scoring

b. cuts: public wants fewer cuts

1. given choice of cut levels:

a. cut \$22 billion: 46%  
cut \$25 billion: 16%  
cut \$20 billion: 20%

2. but, that is just comparative. Probably  
could live with \$25 billion in Senate  
version

c. Immigrants - SSI

1. public breaks even on food stamps to  
"families of legal immigrants who are  
not American citizens, but who are  
disabled and have children not born  
in America"

-- 47-48

2. possible compromise: food stamps for  
limited number of years during which  
they would either become citizens  
or lose benefits

4. Welfare

1. Entitlement

a. public backs block grants over entitlements  
by 63-29

2. Maintenance of Effort

a. public backs 80% maintenance requirement  
by 54-36; but would back 75% by 51-36



b. big change from November when they  
opposed maintenance of effort

**III. ECONOMIC MESSAGE -- VALUES MORE IMPORTANT THAN  
ECONOMICS; GROWTH IS KEY  
ECONOMICS MESSAGE**

**--Mark Penn**

**A. Values does better than Economics as Message**

1. Values v Economics (defined as wage stagnation, layoffs  
insecurity)

**-- 60-37**

2. Values v Economics (defined as jobs and growth)

**--55-42**

**B. We have Economics voters already and need values voters**

1. Of economic driven voters:

**Clinton: 57 Dole 27**

2. Of values driven voters:

**Clinton: 45 Dole 39**

3. Swing voters are values driven

4. **THEREFORE:** stress values, but don't ignore  
economics

**C. Growth beats Addressing Income Gap**

1. Voters back "stronger economic growth" over "closing  
the gap between rich and poor" by 74-23

2. Voters back "faster economic growth and expanding educational opportunities" over "encouraging higher pay for lower-skilled people facing stagnating wages" by 71-24

3. Even voters who put economics over values favor growth as the answer by 70-29

4. Among voters who want growth: CI-45 Dole-41  
who close income gap CI-66 Dole-17

a. go after marginal voter, not after base

5. THEREFORE: stress growth policies

**D. Economic Optimism Remains Strong**

1. No real fear of job loss:

a. very afraid: 8%,  
somewhat afraid: 15

**TOTAL AFRAID: 22%**

**TOTAL NOT AFRAID: 68%**

2. Optimism about career

a. Improve in 5 years: 52%  
get worse: 11%  
stay the same: 34%

3. Optimism about economic position:

a. Improve: 46%  
get worse: 16%  
stay the same: 34%

**4. Children better off:**

a. improve: 47%  
get worse: 26%  
stay the same: 20%

**5. Economy to get better:**

a. improve: 37  
get worse: 26  
stay the same: 30%

**6. pessimism creates Dole voters, optimism creates Clinton voters**

**7. THEREFORE: Stress optimism**

**E. Populist Proposals Work without arguments and then crash with arguments**

**1. Require companies that need fedl approval for merger to disclose layoffs and turn down permission based on impact on workers**

support: 62  
oppose: 31

a. but after argument: "cause companies to reduce layoffs and protect jobs vs too much govt interference and promote inefficient companies"

support: 44  
oppose: 49

**2. Require companies that layoff workers to  
fund job training vouchers**

support: 55  
oppose: 30

**a. but with argumentation:**

support: 43  
oppose: 45

**3. differential tax rates based on layoffs, benefits, job  
creation, profit sharing**

support: 74  
oppose: 20

**a. but with argumentation:**

support: 52  
oppose: 40

**4. THEREFORE: Jawbone corporate responsibility in  
values language but avoid class  
warfare rhetoric or specific proposals**

**F. Avoid Fed Bashing**

**1. Should fed promote more growth 58-19**

**2. Fed should continue avoiding inflation even if  
less growth: 40%  
Fed goes too far on fighting inflation and not  
enough to promote growth: 50%**

**3. No consensus for fed attack**

**4. THEREFORE: stress growth through budget balancing,  
tax cuts, educational enhancements, college  
scholarships, but not as fed bashing.**

**G. Trade Issues:**

**1. Voters Blame Clinton Trade Policies for Job Loss**

**Clinton trade policy cost jobs: 42%  
gained jobs: 28%**

**2. But Clinton wins Argumentation on Trade:**

**a. Initial head to head in poll: 50-35**

**b. After positive trade arguments:**

**open foreign markets  
invoke sanctions when needed,  
have raised exports by 1/3  
make more cars than Japan  
opened Japan markets,**

**CI- 62-27**

**c. After Dole attack:**

**Clinton ineffective  
other countries take advantage  
Mexico, Japan  
cost US jobs  
need to be tougher than Clinton**

**CI- 49-42**

**d. THEREFORE: trade is a loser for us, but must be  
defended vigorously to stop it from hurting  
very badly. With aggressive argument, we can  
nullify damage.**

#### **IV. RUNNING AGAINST ALEXANDER -- Doug Schoen**

##### **A. Summary:**

- 1. His own positive campaign doesn't work**
- 2. If he adopts Clinton agenda, it will work, unless we co-opt it first**
- 3 he is highly vulnerable to negatives**

##### **B. Positives on Alexander --Alexander's own currently articulated positive campaign doesn't work:**

**(% very convincing)**

- 1. new armed force to control borders: 42%**
- 2. cut Congress pay, send them home: 35%**
- 3. Reformed education as Governor: 30%**
- 4. brought in Saturn, jobs as Governor 30%**
- 5. GI bill for children, vouchers, scholarship: 30%**
- 6. protect wildlife, outdoors, environment 30%**

##### **7. Head to head after positive argument 49-36**

**-- very minor gain from baseline of 51-30**

**even when articulated as themes, they don't work well**

##### **8. power back to states-radical change**

- power to states**
- abolish ed dept**
- local charities vs welfare**
- real change**

**48% more likely head to head: 52-31**

## **9. political outsider-conservative vision**

- promote responsibility**
- outsider,**
- conservative vision**
- arrogant washington**

**41% more likely head to head 56-30**

**C. Positives on Alexander — But, If Alexander adopts Clinton Message, It will work very well:**

### **1. Record as Governor as Centrist**

- great governor for 80s**
- merit pay for teachers**
- 30,000 new jobs**
- taxes fifth lowest in US**
- balanced budget**
- protected environment**
- commitment to children**
- executive manager**

**% more likely 63% head to head: 46-42**

### **2. Positive Centrist Republican**

- end bickering**
- no attack ads**
- moderate, centrist Republican**
- no one party has all the answers**
- balance budget**
- power to states**
- reform welfare**
- environment protection**
- good educational policy**
- invest in our kids.**

**%more likely 62 head to head: 48-41**

**D. Negatives on Alexander — Alexander Very Vulnerable to  
Negatives**

**(% very convincing)**

- 1. channeled \$60,000 to Inn wife owned 56%**
- 2, liberal, programs would raise taxes 50%**
- 3. deducted \$129,000 for trip to Australia  
to write a book 49%**
- 4. as governor, 9,000 inmates released and  
offenders served half their sentence 48%**
- 5. gets \$300,000 from law firm as no show,  
makes \$250,000 from Martin Marietta  
after leaving board includes tax money 48%**
- 6. invested \$6600 in child care company,  
promoted as Governor, now work  
one million 46**
- 7. armed force on immigration will cost  
billions 46%**
- 8. as Gov, welfare up 20,000, in 82 wasted  
\$17 million on food stamps 45%**

**head to head after these hits: 63-22!**

**addressed as negative themes:**



## **9. Corruption**

- abused office
- shady deals
- invested in prison company, made \$130,000
- put down \$1,000, bought million dollar house
- cronies helped with investments

**% less likely 63%      head to head: 58-28**

## **10. Political Insider and Politician**

- life on public payroll
- Washington for decade
- former sec of ed, now abolish
- typical insider, plaid shirts etc. is gimmick

**% less likely 56%      head to head 57-29**

## **11. Negative Governor Record**

- not conservative
- doubled spending
- raised taxes
- released prisoners

**% less likely 63      head to head: 52-32**

## **12. Millionaire lawyer**

- abused power to get rich
- net worth went up ten times
- taking money from two companies  
he's not working for

**% less likely 57%      head to head: 51-35**

## V. RUNNING AGAINST DOLE -- Doug Schoen

### A. SUMMARY

1. Not much movement up or down with campaigning
2. Character, bio, experience doesn't work
3. Only Republican balanced budget agenda works
  - if a deal, Dole has absolutely nothing to say
  - if no deal, we give him an agenda to beat us with

### B. Positive Arguments on Dole

(% very convincing)

- |   |       |
|---|-------|
| 1. tough on crime, parole, sentencing, judges,<br>juveniles as adults | 42%   |
| 2. welfare reform   | 35%   |
| 3. share corporate profits  | 34%   |
| 4. close Ed Dept, return power to communities                         | 34%   |
| 5. tax cuts --credit of \$500/child, capital gains                    | 29%   |
| 6. no wall around US  | 24%   |
| 7. leader with morals and values                                      | 23%   |
| 8. experienced  | 21%   |
| 9. roots in real America, values, self-reliance                       | 16%   |
| 10. mature leadership, war service,                                   | 14%   |
| head to head after positive   | 47-40 |

--after 10 positive statements for Dole, a 3 pt  
Clinton drop

--look at how his core themes of experience,  
war, roots, morals etc. crash and burn

when lumped into themes --

#### 11. Republican Policies

- balanced budget
- economy sound
- cut taxes
- growth
- victims over criminals
- finish job begun in 94

% more likely 68%      head to head: 53-35

-- we have stolen all the issues -- if we don't  
give them back to him by not getting  
them done

#### 12. Biography

- experience
- character
- traditional values
- war record
- legislative achievement
- conservative principles
- prepared for job

more likely 37%      head to head 53-34

--bio means nothing,

### 13. Values-Moral Compass

- values
- grew up with religion
- decent, honest, personal responsibility
- against liberal elite's who push violence and porn
- character we can trust to stay consistent
- moral example for America

more likely: 42% head to head: 56-35

--we go up

### C. Negatives on Dole

- |   |     |
|---|-----|
| 1. Medicare cuts, premiums              | 40% |
| 2. Anti-women, Packwood, Anita Hill     |     |
| domestic violence, aff action           | 37% |
| 3. voted for 16 tax increases           | 36% |
| 4. assault weapons, Brady, 100M cops    | 36% |
| 5. families-student loans, EITC, family |     |
| leave                                   | 35% |
| 6. Gingrich runs country                | 32% |
| 7. Libby Dole's dealings                | 26% |
| 8. too old                              | 25% |
| 8. Archer Daniels                       | 22% |

— don't need medicare as issue, bite-size  
achievement agenda works just as  
well — see October, 94 poll

—head to head -- 50-36 (up from 47-40 after  
positives)

--neither negatives nor positives work  
that well.

thematic negatives:

9. Attack on Families

- medicare
- medicaid
- headstart, student loan
- etc
- environment

less likely: 68% 58-30

10. No fresh ideas

- nostalgia
- goes with political winds
- no agenda
- panders
- flip flop

less likely 59% 58-30

11. captive of right wing interests

- assault weapons ban
- 100,000 cops
- environment
- women's issues/ abortion
- cave into radical right

less likely 63% 58-30

## 12. Washington insider

- ultimate insider
- 35 years in DC
- deals
- campaign money
- not effective,
- no pass Republican agenda

less likely: 59      head to head: 55-32

- negatives work, but don't drive us up over 60%

## SUMMARY; THE WAY TO BEAT ALEXANDER:

- get a deal to show Washington works
- beat him to values rhetoric
- hit him on finances

## THE WAY TO BEAT DOLE

- get a deal because your first post-nomination head to head is likely to be your final one
- use opposition to bite size agenda to beat him
- get a deal so that he has nothing to say
- don't hand him back the only agenda he can have by a deal

## ONLY SURE WAY TO WIN IS TO GET A DEAL

1. Alexander falls, Dole wins
2. Dole has no message left

## **VI SPEAKING SCHEDULE**

### **1. Recommend strong trade hit on Friday in Japan visit**

**--positive stuff about trade deals working**

### **2. Recommend un-Buchanan speech on Monday**

**--stress national unity, uplifting themes**

**--don't attack Buchanan, but stress opposite of his rhetoric**

### **3. Recommend growth speeches in Michigan on 3-4 and California on 3-8**

### **4. Recommend that coming week and next week be left largely free for budget deal pushing**

## **VII. SOCIAL SECURITY -- COMMISSION RECOMMENDATIONS ARE BAD**

### **A. Public doesn't want SS funds in stock market**

**--36-54**

**-- after argument that stocks would earn ore vs too much risk 27-63**

### **B. Public will tolerate more investor control over use of funds but then will oppose it with arguments:**

**--66-32 support before arguments**

**--after argue that gives people control over retirement vs they would make unwise investments:**

**41-52 oppose**

AGENDA FOR MEETING WITH PRESIDENT ON MARCH 6

96

I. TRACKING POLL — Schoen

A. No change:

1. head to head at 53-36 (same as last week)
2. job rating at 59-39 (same)
3. re-elect at 48 (same)

B. Only change: favorability up to 61-38

1. AT LAST! a number over 60
2. up from 57-40 last week
3. Steady climb since 51% on 1/8

Jan 8 51  
Jan 14 53  
Jan 20 50  
Jan 29 57  
Feb 4 56  
Feb 11 58  
Feb 21 57  
Feb 28 57  
March 5 61

C. Dole recovers his favorability: 48-45 (last week: 38-52)



D. Hillary consolidates her gains: 50-41 (last week 50-42)

**BAD PERIOD -**

Jan 8: 39-48

Jan 14 40-48

Jan 20 42-50

**RECOVERY-**

Jan 29 46-50

Feb 4 47-45

Feb 11 47-48

**APPROACHING HEALTH-**

Feb 21 50-42

March 5 50-41

E. Who will win Rep Nomination (pre-Tues.)

Dole 75 Buch-10 Forbes-6

1. Dole isn't spending much. Only \$57,000 in NYS  
and only \$75,000 in Texas and \$104,000 in  
Fla

2. Forbes isn't either Only \$670,000 in NYS  
requested avails in Fla and Cal, but  
no buy yet there or anywhere else

3. Buchanan canceled buy in Texas

F. We are losing edge on the budget:

Unaided: Our plan vs Republicans

	Clinton	Republicans
Feb 4	50	35
Feb 11	51	37
Feb 21	49	37
Feb 28	48	40
March 5	45	41

**C. So we should publicly invite Dole and Gingrich to the White House the day after super Tuesday to negotiate a budget deal**

- 1. marathon negotiations -- high profile**
- 2. Between Gingrich's desire for a deal and the momentum of the talks, put Dole in an impossible position**
  - a. he can't be seen as the stopper or killer of a deal because he has to run with the blame**
  - b. deprives him of his leadership/effective ratings**
  - c. takes away his only issue: balanced budget**
  - d. If talks break down or explode, we can win blame game**

**D. We are slipping in balanced budget ratings, we need public affirmation to regain upper hand**

#### **IV.. Media Doctrine -- Squier and Morris**

**A. Republicans believe in negatives mainly**

- 1. they see positives as "pretty pictures and music"**
- 2. they see rebuttals as a "getting off message"**

**B. We believe in dialogue**

- 1. We see positives as key to winning race**
- 2. We see rebuttal and counterpunching -- dialogue -- as way to nail a race down**

March 6, '96

**V. HANDLING REPUBLICAN ATTACKS ON CLINTON**

**A. RNC offensive will now come very soon -- DNC fund raising is not now equipped to cope with the money needs**

**1. We have had trouble getting this week's DNC money together**

**a. this week we needed \$564,000 and got it two days late**

**b. next week, we need \$941,000 from DNC**

**c. following schedule:**

March 19	\$1,281,000
March 26	1,234,000
April 2	1,234,000
April 9	1,175,000
April 16	1,175,000
April 23	1,337,000
April 30	1,299,000
May 7	1,252,000
May 14	1,252,000
May 21	1,262,000
May 28	1,300,000

**TOTAL DNC AFTER THIS WEEK: \$14,747,000**

**2. Fund raising at DNC level must be improved**

**a. Republicans will have vast capacity to throw negatives and we must have money to respond**

**b. needs to have priority in scheduling**

## **B. Testing Impact of Negatives on Clinton**

- 1. Recommend Mall tests where we play Dole anti-Clinton ads and test rebuttal needs**
  - a. do we ignore and run positives
  - b. do we ignore and run negatives
  - c. do we rebut?
  - d. do we rebut and tell of positive achievements?
  - e. do we rebut and tell of positive issues?
  - f. do we rebut and tell of Dole negatives
  - g. do we rebut and tell of achievements and issues?
  - h. do we rebut and decry negative campaigning
- 2. Request Mall test of 8 combinations of negatives and responses**
- 3. Presentation of Dole actual positive and possible negative ads for mall testing -- Squier, Knapp**

## **VI. DOLE NEGATIVES -- Doug Schoen**

- A. We revisited Dole negatives, as requested by President, to reflect thematic negatives without specifics that cross cut in different directions**
  - 1. We found that anti-family negatives worked when used in this context**
  - 2. caveat: we asked Clinton positives before asking Dole negatives. That likely bumped up the Clinton vote from the 53% baseline to the 57-58% range most achievements scored.**

## **B. Ranking of Dole Negatives**

### **1. Best: family issues**

(Dole not pro family. anti-student loan. tax increase on 8 million working families earning less than \$30,000, anti-family leave)

a. moves head to head to 64-30

b. rebuttal: (Dole fought in WW II for families, balanced budget, keep pay not send to Wash in taxes, \$500/child tax credit, pro-life, school prayer, film industry attack)

c. moves head to head to 61-33

### **2. Second best: Washington insider**

(half of life in Wash, deals, self-advancement, six pay raise votes include 23% increase in 91, \$25,000 expense account, created own PAC and raised \$20 million while voting against PACs)

a. moves head to head to 61-30

b. rebuttal (experienced, break gridlock, works with Dem and Rep Presidents, tax reform of 86 cutting taxes).

c. moves head to head to 61-32

### **3. Third best: Medicare**

(voted against Medicare in 65, cuts \$270 billion raises premiums)

a. moves head to head to 60-30

b. rebuttal: (protect medicare, big spending liberals bankrupt it. increases spending on medicare more than inflation. makes medicare sound)

moves head to head to 59-31

#### 4. Fourth: No New Ideas

(running for 20 years, no new ideas. Kassenbaum says Dole blows whichever way the wind blows" no clear reason to run, no agenda, ambition and nothing else, cant be sure where he stands

a. moves head to head to 59-35

b. rebuttal: (Dole knows time to end liberal policies of past. power to states and local, shape own destiny eliminate Dept of Ed, get IRS off backs,

c. moves head to head to 56-38

#### 5. Fifth: Flip Flops vs Always Conservative

(flip flop. promised no taxes, then voted to raise them by \$137 billion. attacks Hollywood but opposes V chip, anti-cable child tv protections, flipped on affirmative action)

a. moves head to head to 55-35

b. rebuttal (beware of sudden new conservatives. Dole has always fought for conservative values. balanced budget amendment, spending cuts, bal bud plan 7 years, anti Hollywood, war hero, in touch with our values

moves head to head to 56-34

## **6. Sixth: Special Interest Captive**

(captive of special interests, anti-assault rifle ban,  
cut environmental enforcement, opposed family leave  
changes abortion position, appease far right

a. moves head to head to 55-37

b. rebuttal (Dole will bring change we need, doer, not  
talker, effective leader, stand up to special interests,  
bring Americans together, fights for America

moves head to head to 52-40

7. Summary: Key vulnerability is anti-family, all others  
move numbers unconvincingly

## **VII CLINTON ACCOMPLISHMENTS AND POSITIVE --Penn**

### **A. Phases of Positive Message**

1. at the beginning: 34% vote, 41% approval in Nov., 94

2. May-July -- crime ads, balanced budget speech to claim  
centrist position

a. moved vote share to low 40s

3. August-January -- holding firm on balanced budget,  
opposing shutdown, medicare, medicaid,  
environment, education

a. moved vote share to high 40s

4. January-now -- State of Union speech, values ads,  
TV ratings

a. moved vote share to low 50s

**B. We hope we get budget/welfare deal to move numbers to 57-60. That sets stage for use of positive accomplishments/advocacy to move our baseline**

**1. raises possibility of moving numbers through prolonged siege of positive accomplishment/advocacy ads to reach 56-59 level and defend it.**

**2. particularly possible if Republicans use negatives rather than outlining a competing vision**

**a. we are relatively less vulnerable to negatives**

**3. We couldn't do positives on accomplishments when we had low approval and favorability, but now voters are willing to listen**

**C. Accomplishments/Advocacy Ranked**

**1. all do about the same, in moving vote share up 4-6 points to 57-59%.**

**2. need long term, mutually reinforcing positives**

**3. with budget/welfare deal, easier sell**

**4. Rankings:**

**a. crime bill                      37% much more likely to vote CI**

- 100,000 cops**
- assault weapons**
- 3 time felons get life, no parole**
- death penalty**
- domestic violence**
- Brady Bill**



b. strengthen families 35% much more likely

- family leave
- child support
- immunization

c. health insurance 34% much more

- portability
- pre-existing
- cut \$15 in fraud

d. balanced budget 33% much more

e. improve schools 32% much more

f. children's values 30%

g. cut taxes 31% much more likely

h. welfare 29%

i. world peace 29%

j. environment 26

k. immigration 28

l. work together 26

m. deficit cut 25

n fair trade 25

o. streamlined govt 22

D. All positives bring us to 57-60% vote share

## VIII. ECONOMIC MESSAGE -- Penn

### A. Growth is key message

1. number one concern on economy is lack of jobs
2. insecurity v values -- 41-59  
but growth v values -- 46-54
3. who is best on job insecurity: 49 CI 39 R  
but who is best on job growth: 45 CI 45 R
  - a. already winning insecurity, must win growth
  - b. overwhelmingly have insecure voter
  - c. don't let liberal press move you to insecurity  
solutions, real issue is will we have enough  
growth/

### B. Corporate Responsibility

1. Put it in value terms
2. encouraging corps to do the right thing
3. encouragement only, not regulations or laws
4. suggest event on Friday on Corp Responsibility where  
you lay out principles of good corporate citizenship
  - a. moves issue to positive, not negative
  - b. makes it values, not class warfare

**C. Michigan Speech**

- 1. Very positive reception to optimism, growth message**
- 2. Use of term "confusion: is very dangerous**

- recalls funk which recalls Carter's malaise**
- sets up Carter-Reagan metaphor, we want  
Reagan-Mondale Metaphor**

(13)

**3. Polling messages shows optimism by itself is best  
optimism with positive spin on change works second  
best. Confusion is worst**

**a. Optimism:**

- economy was in recession 4 years ago
- now no recession
- 8 million jobs,
- lowest combined unemployment-inflation
- construction and auto booming
- more cars sold than Japan
- some faced layoffs, but created more jobs  
than lost
- stronger pensions, health care, training
- head to head: CI 59 Dole 34

**b. Optimism plus positive treatment of change**

- time of change
- information replaces industrial
- feeling change in layoffs and need for education  
and training
- here is where Americans excel
- skills have rebuilt autos, technology
- lead in computers and software
- educated people get good wages
- we need to invest in our people
- head to head: CI 58 Dole 36

### **c. Time of Confusion**

(actual text of speech used)

- time of fundamental confusion
- how growth in mfging and autos but people work harder for same or less
- Juvenile crime is up, so are layoffs
- last time such confusion was 100 years ago
- emphasize mind over muscle
- treat everyone fairly and meet challenges together

--head to head CI 56% Dole 37

### **IX SLOGAN**

**A. John Alter says you said it was :moving forward together**

**B. It should be: meeting America's new challenges**

1. tested very well after on-point polling
2. worked well in state of the union

**C. New realm in Presidential Leadership**

1. not just bully pulpit or jawboning
2. rather, its how a President leads in the information age -- by summoning forth change in each of us by challenging us

**D. Problems are broad based, not just a few miscreants**

1. problems like teen pregnancy, drugs, drinking, teen smoking, lack of education, corporate responsibility, getting off welfare, fathering, domestic violence etc require broad persuasion of millions, not just laws and regulations

**2. President is the national leader**

- a. people want less government, but more leadership
- b. old way was to change externals: give out money, pass laws and regulations
- c. new way is to change each of us within by persuasion
  - 1. lower health care costs
  - 2. don't smoke
  - 3. don't use drugs
  - 4. stay in school
  - 5. fathering  
etc
- d. national service must be a state of mind

**X. IMMIGRATION -- Penn**

**A. People don't feel situation is getting better**

- 1. Illegal immigration has increased (65%) not decreased(4%) or stayed the same (25%)
- 2. But they do feel there are more deportations (43%) not less (10%) or stayed the same (35%)

**B. We have no edge on issue, but Republicans have lost their edge**

- 1. Clinton better: 42%    Reps in Cong better: 44%

**C. Immigration Measures**

- 1. Stepping up border patrols, electronic equipment

--26% much more, 31% somewhat more likely to vote for Clinton if he backs this (57% more likely total)

2. proof of citizenship for drivers license, deny licenses to illegal aliens

--24% much more, 31% somewhat more (55% more)

--works even if we delete traffic cop enforcement piece which caused all the problems. Just make life unattractive in US to illegals--works by itself

3. unannounced raids of businesses employing illegals

--21% much, 25% somewhat (46% more)

4. speeding up deportations to 30 days

--16% much, 26% somewhat (42% more)

#### D. Immigration after Arguments

1. deportations up 30%

--Clinton: 53    Republicans in Congress: 38

2. illegal immigration cut 30% by border guards

--Clinton: 51    Republicans in Congress: 41

3. cut in immigration more remarkable because of Mexico economic problems

-- Clinton: 51    Republicans in Congress: 39

4. Counter: Dole says enforcement too lax and prompts Mexicans to try to come here

-- Clinton: 48    Republicans in Congress: 42

**XI. ISRAEL -- SUGGEST EMOTIONAL "PEACE IS WORTH IT"  
THEME AT HUSSEIN VISIT TOMORROW**

- A. visit to Israell embassy too late to be covered**
- B. speak of need to persevere in cause of peace**
- C. courage needed for peace**
- D. but peace is worth it**
- E. high minded appeal to peace-loving peoples not to give up**
- F. Connect to domestic terrorism**



## **PRIVATE AGENDA FOR PRESIDENT ONLY**

### **I. BUDGET**

**A. take vigorous, personal lead in direct talks with Gingrich**

**B. Play out public invitation to marathon negotiations with  
Gingrich in private**

**1. he doesn't want Dole elected, he wants to run in 2000**

**2. He needs a deal, he thinks, to ratify his speakership**

**3. work out substantive details with Gingrich in advance**

**4. catch Dole in squeeze play**

**C. Deal details -- this is not a bargaining position, it is rather  
where I think you can go politically in the final deal**

#### **1. Medicare**

**a. MSA compromise keyed to national quota on  
enrollment and annual adjustment of  
capitation fee based on risk experience**

**1. sell to Gingrich as annual increases in  
enrollment caps leading to full  
national availability**

**2. sell to liberals because it allows only  
limited damage each year**

**3. sell to liberals because it allows reduction  
in capitation fee to reflect cherry picking**

**b. Balance billing -- hold firm against it**

**c. Premium Overcharge**

1. we should allow private plans to keep profits if they provide lower cost services
2. we should not allow higher premiums for basic benefit package
3. we should allow private plans to charge higher premiums for supplemental benefits -- like drugs -- without limitation. Market can control

**d. Recruitment and Enrollment for Private Plans**

1. we could allow aggressive recruiting, but provide for annual review to monitor cherry picking. Also insist on available to all recruitment as we do FEHBP.

**e. Medigap**

1. we want to improve on current law to allow people to re-enter medigap market if their experiment with MSAs fails and they want to re-enter fee for service and buy medigap
2. Republicans worry that these people will be very sick and will drive up medigap costs and bankrupt insurance companies
  - a. we can allow medigap premium increases, but limit them or create re-insurance high risk pool to absorb them

**f. Can go up to mid 140s net savings**

- 1: but may need to open lower in bargaining**
- 2. 10 from premiums over \$100,000**
- 3. 10 from provider cuts**
  - a. lower the rate we pay managed care plans**
  - b. move hospitals up to minus 2 pts (we are now at minus 1.5, going up to 2 saves 7 bil. (market basket minus 2)**
  - c. in out years, cut physician fees slightly physicians would buy it because they like single conversion factor Republicans had deeper cuts than we did and physicians bought it.**

**2. Medicaid**

**a. Formula**

- 1. by killing provider tax and raising matching levels back up to current levels, we cut the Governor's plan down to appropriate size since they will not want to come up with hard money matches for all the goodies they added in CBO will likely reflect this in its scoring**
- 2. assure that there is no cap of enrollment index**

**b. eligibility**

1. try to expand to teens up to 15 as compromise

a. Breaux Chaffee keeps up to 18

**c. benefits**

1. guarantee "adequate" benefits and have HHS oversee

**d. enforcement**

1. state courts for benefits  
federal courts for eligibility

**e. savings**

1. Republicans are at 85; we are at 59

a. Breaux-Chaffee is at 62

1. good formula
2. good benefits and eligibility deal
3. 8-10 Republicans in the group

2. If need to go higher than 59 or 62

a. For each 0.1 percent lowering of growth cap, we get \$2.5 billion

### **3. Welfare**

#### **a. food stamps**

- 1. have state option block grant until certain triggers are reached and then entitlement**

**a. so if we need it, we can get entitlement**

**b. state-by-state and national triggers**

**c. acts like entitlement when triggers indicate block grants would run out**

#### **b. immigrants**

- 1. Republicans cut 23 bil, we cut 6 by deeming**

**a. cut 4 bil extra by extending deeming to Medicaid and over 75 year olds**

**b. add diaper voucher for legal immigrant disabled with kids.**

**1. Republicans will get adult cuts**

**2. we will get kids being covered**

**3. probably 3-5 bil in cuts, bringing total to 13-15 -- halfway between 6 and 23**

#### **c. child protection -- kill block granting**

**d. savings**

**1: Republicans at 64, we are at 40. Govs are at 43 (minus 23 in immigrant cuts on which they take no position= 20)**

**a. we can add back to the Gov's 20:**

**1. 3-4 bil from matching requirement so gov's don't use all goodies**

**2. 10 by deeming on SSI, Medicaid**

**3. 3-5 by cutting adults on legal immigrant SSI**

**4. 3-5 bil by counting \$500 per child tax credit in EITC income calculation**

**II. IRAN**

**A. urge tough action on Iran.**

**1. we need foreign toughness so we don't take too much heat for being reasonable on Russia and China**

**2. Israeli bombings plus Bosnia interference set up good motivation for world wide action**

**B. Suggest oil embargo**

**1. Iran produces 3 million barrels per day**

**a. 1.5 increase is expected from non-OPEC sources**

b. Saudis will likely be willing to maintain fixed OPEC production at 26 mil barrels to protect OPEC market share even if embargo cuts out Iran

- a. more money to them
- b. less to Iran
- c. use OPEC as excuse to raise their production

2. European motivation

a. France: concerns about Islamic fundamentalism in Algeria

b. Britain: is there an Iran-IRA link?

c. Europe generally: Bosnia intervention by Iran

a. attempt to create Islamic fundamentalist state in Europe

d. Japan: encourages terrorism as in nerve gas attack

3. Demand: That Iran cease support of terrorist organizations

III. SHOULD YOU GO TO RUSSIA AND JAPAN ON THE ANNIVERSARY OF OKLAHOMA CITY -- it would miss a great opportunity for you.

IV. On Michigan trip, Tom says that at private fund raisers, there were private video cameras in the room, while you talked pretty intimately --

- a. said on Japan, you were the only one able to name the last 5 prime ministers of Japan

**b. attacked Dole on Christian Coalition**

**1. might be embarrassing if tapes got out since we are not attacking Dole at this point so as not to start race**

**c. suggest no video taping, or be more careful and don't let your hair down**



V.H 2  
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AGENDA FOR MEETING WITH PRESIDENT ON APRIL 1

(DISCLAIMER: Nothing in this memo is intended to be construed as a celebration of the rites of April 1st)

I GOALS OF THE PRE-CONVENTION PERIODS- TO COMPARE AND CONTRAST CLINTON VS. DOLE

A) Voters Have Seen an extensive, updated view of Clinton in 1995-1996.

- 1) Values Orientation
- 2) Decisiveness- No Flip-Flops
- 3) Sure hand in foreign Policy
- 4) Upbeat, optimistic assessment of economy
- 5) Centrist positioning on welfare, tax cut, balanced budget, crime
- 6) Pro-Values Differences with extreme Republican initiative in these areas.

B) But Clinton Still falls far short of perfection- especially when measured against their high hopes of 1992

1) Current Poll Data:

1. in touch with my values 39-39
2. does things because they are right 39-35
3. strong leader 36-33
4. effective 29-33
5. Ratings are no better than OK, and certainly don't reflect a 52% vote share

2) However, when measured against Dole, Clinton's ratings acquire a new buoyancy:

1

Dole- Time tested, mature/ Clinton- young, immature  
True- 28% Not true -51%

Dole- Strong, decisive leader/ Clinton- weak and flip-flops  
True- 30% Not true- 52%

Dole- Practical and down to earth/ Clinton- too abstract  
True- 26% Not true- 52%

Dole- Doer/ Clinton- Just a talker  
True- 21 Not true- 51%

Impact of above on head to head: NONE

C) The Mission: To contrast Clinton and Dole

1) Dole: To express Clinton's achievement, positioning and personal skills  
in the context of Dole's weakness'

a) Economy- contrast 91-91 recession with current  
prosperity

1) Show Dole's absence of economic  
program in 91 when the country  
needed it.

b) Achievements: Stress how Dole opposed Clinton's  
achievements

1) Student loans, immunizations, family  
leave, Brady Bill

c) Positioning on Budget: Express how Dole tried to  
destroy America's values by  
extremism in budget debate:

270B in Medicare cuts  
Medicare premium increase  
Entitlement for Medicaid children  
Nursing homes  
Head start  
College scholarships

Federal help for schools  
Environmental policies  
EPA enforcement  
Toxic waste  
Tax cut for working families  
Tuition deductibility

**d) Advocacy: Contrast Clinton and Dole differences over ongoing issues:**

V-Chip  
Federal role in education and education standards  
Tobacco/smoking  
Minimum wage  
domestic violence  
100,000 cops  
Campaign finance reform,

**D) Overall Conclusions:**

**1) To show Dole's inadequacies:**

- a) Dole lacks generational perspective to embrace new era.
- b) Dole is too much of a worn-out insider to seek dynamic change.
- c) Dole is too much of a Washington figure to understand real values issues.
- d) Dole embraces Republican passivity and inaction in the face of economic difficulty.

**2) To show that Clinton has the right vision for America**

- a) Clinton is generationally suited for a new look at America's problems at turn of the century.
- b) Clinton is an active, energetic proponent of new ideas.
- c) Clinton embraces the values of America as it copes with change
- d) Clinton actively and vigorously seeks to foster economic growth

**E) Paid Media Implementation of These Themes.**

- 1) Respond to Dole attacks with contrast between them which underscores and elaborates this agenda.
- 2) To show visual contrast between them by constant video juxtaposition.
- 3) To elaborate Clinton's achievements and positions through this dialogue and to lend them relevance and saliency by contrasting them with Dole's opposition.

**F) Free Media Implementation of Above Strategy- Presidential**

- 1) Continue positive exposition and elaboration of the State of Union agenda into our basic message:

Tobacco,  
education standards  
television violence  
teen gangs,  
going to college,  
corporate responsibility  
pension reform  
health care portability  
job training vouchers  
responsible parenting,  
criminal sentencing,  
anti-terrorism  
domestic and spousal abuse  
education technology,  
environmental protection  
school uniforms...

- 2) To highlight economic optimism and current economic growth
- 3) To accomplish closure on conservative themes of budget balancing, tax cuts, welfare reform, crime, immigration reform.
- 4) To highlight international role as peacekeeper and statesman
- 5) The goal of Presidential free media activity is not and should not be to raise Dole's negatives.

**G) Free Media Implementation of Above Strategy-- Non-Presidential**

- 1) To interfere with the elaboration of Dole's message with tactical hits as opportunities arise
- 2) To use the Senate Floor to show Dole's lack of leadership and inability to be an effective President.
- 3) Force Dole into a position which exemplify the issues outlined above.
- 4) To distract Dole and break his momentum by tactical intervention in his campaign and in his legislative leadership.

H) Summary: (What do we want people to remember about Clinton and Dole)

- 1) Dole is too old, stuck in another era, but Clinton is current and with it.

Single word translation- Generational

- 2) Dole is too tired and mired in the status quo to permit him to seek change. Clinton is active, energetic and committed to change.

Single word translation- Status Quo

- 3) Dole is a Washington insider who does not get the fundamental values of America. Clinton is embracing those values in his program and politics.

Single word translation-Values

- 4) Dole is committed to passive economic policy while Clinton dynamically seeks growth.

Single word translation -Growth

I) RECAP; Generation, Status Quo, Values and Growth

II TARGETING -- HOW TO IDENTIFY THE FIVE MILLION AMERICANS WHO HOLD THE ELECTION IN THEIR HANDS  
- MARK PENN

A. In the past, there has been virtually no successful targeting of swing voters

1. Swing voters is too big a category -- it embraces tens of millions of Americans -- to be useful

2. Standard election statistical analysis offers case models too unique to be of importance and only targets precincts, not voters

B. Now, we are developing the capacity to target the actual households which are the swing voters, in the swing markets, in the swing states to control the election if the race were to be a 52-48 or 48-52 race.

C. Methodology for targeting:

1. Already done:

- a. geographic/demographic targeting
- b. lifestyle targeting
- c. past electoral history
- d. current polling data

1. too small a sample for truly state by state or market by market polling

2. Next Step

a. New Polling : 10,000 interview poll in 20-25 key states

1. gives us statistical power to understand who is swing voter

2. Permits planning for Perot factor

3. Prioritize each state market and community type

- a. for Presidential events
- b. for surrogate events
- c. for organizing
- d. for time buying

4. Permits us to understand which of the 64 lifestyle clusters we need to target

a. allows us to identify the key lifestyle variants that identify a swing voter

5. Permits geographic targeting of paid media messages based on this analysis of which Dole attacks will hurt where and of which Clinton ads will work where

a. permits multitrack paid media

3. Then --

a. determine where, in the zip plus four geographic analysis these voters who are identified by lifestyle clusters live

b. factor in:

1. electoral data
2. demographics
3. state by state polling
4. breakouts from our own 10,000 sample poll
5. where we are advertising and where they are

c. We determine, at each level of the vote, who the swing the voters are, name by name and address by address

1. At a 52-48 race, they are different than at a 55-45 race

2. They will vary depending on Perot's candidacy and how it does

3. But the targeting model can adapt to these variations as they occur before field resources are actually committed

4. Final Application

1. Once families are identified, a heavily focused phone and mail hit becomes possible.

2. If we identify 5 million families -- 8 million voters -- 4% of electorate

a. We can mail and phone them at reasonable costs with incredible frequency

1. 5 mailers and 3 phone calls would cost about \$15 million

2. Can concentrate these in the last two weeks so they get a Clinton hit almost every day

b. Can adjust targeting until about 3 weeks out to adjust to moving electoral conditions

3. We can identify where Presidential time needs to go in states where we are in trouble

4. We can weight time buys

5. We can shift messages with great precision to hit targets

### III LEGISLATIVE HITS ON DOLE

#### A. Terrorism Bill (items cut by House Republicans)

1. prohibit fund raising by terrorists, (Hamas)

2. deport aliens faster

3. tagents for bomb tracing

4. cop killer bullet study

#### B. Anti Militia Bill

1. prohibit intimidation of local govt officials (i.e. Montana)

#### C. Reverse Frank

1. Make Senators pay for mail out of fixed budgets, but public mails in free

#### D. Electronic Weapons Detector

1. NRA and ACLU oppose, but public heavily favors

#### E. Food safety

1. Improvements on meat inspection threatened by panel to see if they are needed -- we move to delete the panel



AGENDA FOR MEETING WITH THE PRESIDENT ON APRIL 24

I. TRACKING -- NO CHANGE SINCE TWO WEEKS AGO, BUT NOW REAL  
JOB APPROVAL GROWTH INTO 60s

A. Head to head still at 51-37

B. Job approval still at 61-38

1. second in a row, likely lasting change

2. room for growth now in head to head

C. Favorability at 60-38

1. now also in the 60s, hopefully to stay -- second week

D. Dole favorable at 49-44 (2 weeks ago at 49-44 also)

E. Hillary at 49-42 (last week at 47-43)

F. Three way at 46-34-11 with Perot

G. Perot favorability at 32-58

H. Budget tracking:

1. who is more to blame for failure to reach a balanced budget, tax reform  
and welfare agreement this year?

Clinton 33 v Republicans 50

Clinton 33 v Dole 41

2. Suppose Dole says it is time to stop negotiating and get a balanced  
budget done. He says he has the votes to pass a new version  
of the budget with fewer cuts in Medicare than before and the  
Republicans should pass it and put a new balanced budget on  
Clinton's desk to sign or veto

agree 59 disagree 35

vote: C1 47 Dole 43

4/24/96

3. Supporters of Clinton say that if Dole really wants a balanced budget, not just political posturing, he will finish the negotiating with Clinton. Dole knows that the issues are so important that only a budget carefully reviewed and agreed to by both sides will be passed and signed. Dole should negotiate if he really wants to achieve a balanced budget, not just go back to the Republican tactics of 1995.

agree 74 disagree 21

vote: Cl 56 Dole 36

4. Analysis: If he projects his line before we can get our line out, he can acquire permanent advantage. We must press our line of negotiations before he can get his line of unilateral action out to the public.

5. Steps to take:

1. Friday: Challenge Dole to come in and talk  
And say we will meet with Congress to put together an agreement.
2. Next week: meet with Breaux-Chaffee  
meet with Stenholm-Sabo  
  
always calling on Dole to talk
3. The week after: through out individual areas where we can find agreement:  
  
capital gains for tuition tax credit  
we will explore other areas to propose later
4. Finally, release our proposed compromise as we released our seven year budget plan

## II. AD CAMPAIGN

- A. Crime ad now on where unopposed. Tax answer on where opposed

2. Welfare:

92: end welfare as we know it

93-4 EITC

95-6 37 state waivers

Second term: finish welfare reform; empowerment zone job creation

strong agree: 38

some agree 41

total agree: 79

3. Taxes

92: middle class tax cut

93-4: EITC

95-6: fought for tuition tax deductions, tax credit for each child

second term: get the program passed

strong agree: 50

some agree: 33

total agree: 83

4. Deficit

92 campaign: pledged a cut

93-4: cut deficit

95-6 now cut in half

second term: balance the budget

strong agree: 36

some agree: 33

total agree: 69

**5. economy**

campaign: focus like a laser

93-4: cut deficit, opened markets

95-6: 8.4 million jobs

second term: go to college, job training vouchers

strong agree: 33

some agree: 36

total agree: 69

**6. crime**

92 campaign: fight crime promise

93-4: Brady Bill, assault rifles, 100M cops

95-6: get cops hired, terrorism

second term: get federal sentencing requirements adopted by states  
so felons serve 85% of sentences

strong agree: 53

some agree: 29

**IV. CHARACTER ISSUE --- ACQUIRING IMMUNITY BASED ON PUBLIC  
LEADERSHIP ON VALUES ISSUES**

**A. Our agenda of public values issues has become a highly effective response to  
attacks on the President's character**

**1. people increasingly see the President's public  
values agenda as a more relevant indicator of his character  
than the allegations of personal prior conduct**

2. Even when subjected to a harsh set of attacks, the public values agenda beats them back

Format: Some people say that Bill Clinton has shown that he does not have the character to be President when you consider.....Others say that while these things should have been considered three years ago when Clinton did not have a track record, now he has shown his real values in office by.....

a. negatives: failed promises, Whitewater, draft

vs.: assault weapons, education, Medicare, tobacco, TV ratings, Oklahoma City, Rabin

bad character: 35  
has real values: 63

b. negatives: failed promises, Whitewater, draft

vs. assault weapons, education, medicare, tobacco, TV ratings --  
no Okla or Rabin

bad: 36  
values: 61

c. negatives: womanizing, pot smoking, sexual harassment suit

vs. peace in Bosnia and Mid east, tax cuts for working families, Brady Bill,

bad: 35  
values: 60

d. negatives: womanizing, pot smoking, sex harassment suit

vs. domestic violence, truth in sentencing, health portability

bad: 34  
values: 63

3. Conclusion: Any attack on private conduct and character can be met reference to virtually any of our values agenda issues and defeated in the context of these actions showing his "real" values

**B. President's character perceptions are highly competitive with Dole.**

**1. We do best on public values and do OK on private values**

**2. Question: Does this apply more to Clinton or Dole?**

**a. Works to help majority of people Cl 57 D 33**

**b. Inspiring: Cl-52 D-29**

**c. Doing right even if unpopular 53-37**

**d. Keeps campaign promises: 41-31**

**e. Someone you would leave your kids with 40-33**

**f. responsible 45-44**

**g. represents basic American values 46-46**

**h. decent 44-45**

**i. trust 44-46**

**j. strong on defense 39-52**

**3. Analysis:**

**a. big progress in leads on doing right and promises**

**b. good progress in break even on personal character stuff**

**1. margins like this are not the basis for a campaign against us.**

**V. RESPONSE TO DOLE ATTACKS**

**A. Generic Goals:**

**1. Make Dole seem nasty**

**a. take away his ability to wage a negative campaign by making him pay with nastiness adjectives for each shot he takes**

**2. Make Dole seem incompetent**

a. by peddling the story that his attacks aren't working or are a blunder, make him seem incompetent

b. put him through the same ringer we went through in the opening months

**3. Stress Dole hypocrisy**

a. by contrasting proposals with past positions, make him seem flip floppy. Take away affirmative advocacy as an option

**4. Use to showcase our accomplishments**

a. Just as we used Republican

**VI. GENERATIONAL THEME -- THE BASIC STORY WE HAVE TO TELL**

**A. We tested two story lines on generational issues.**

**1. Clinton vs Clinton --**

Clinton is the first of a new generation to hold the Presidency. He was young and inexperienced at the start but now he really understands how to govern and has become a solid leader who will be even better in the second term

vs

He is typical of young people who lack discipline, character, and maturity. He doesn't understand or respect how the older generation worked to make the country what it is and we need to bring back leadership that understands the old ways and has greater maturity and understanding

**Good Clinton -59 Bad Clinton: 36**

## 2. Clinton vs Dole

Clinton is the first of a new generation to hold the Presidency. He was young and inexperienced at the start but now he really understands how to govern and has fresh ideas. Dole represents the older generation trying to take back power just as the younger generation is coming into its own and doing a better job. It would be wrong to let Dole turn back the clock on America's leadership and its new direction

vs

He is typical of young people who lack discipline, character, and maturity. He doesn't understand or respect how the older generation like Bob Dole, worked to make this country what it is. We need to bring back leaders who understand that our old values are still useful and give people like Bob Dole, who understand those values, one more turn to lead us in the right direction

Clinton: 56 Dole 37



## VII. DOLE ATTACKS --- GOOD ANSWERS FOR EACH

### A. Judges

1. 33% had heard of attack (not great projection)
2. Agree with attack (without rebuttal) agree-39 disagree-44
  - a. likely to vote for Dole 40    likely to vote for Clinton 43
3. Best answer: Sentences under Clinton are longer: 56%-34
  - a. second best answer: ABA approval 51-26
    1. ABA too liberal v ABA prestigious, reliable, useful  
pro ABA-49    anti ABA-36
  - b. third best answer: Dole voted to confirm 48-30

### B. Partial Birth Abortion

1. Support veto: 56    Oppose: 40
2. Argument: only life exemption not enough, need health exemption  
support: 52    oppose: 35
3. Pope and Catholic cardinals said ban needed because of proximity to birth  
more likely to vote CI: 36    less likely: 41
4. Clinton says wanted restrictions but wanted exemption for health, keep decision in hands of doctors:  
agree: 50    disagree: 35

5. Opponents say brutal procedure, suck out brains, Pope and cardinals say wrong. Clinton says veto so no slippery slope to ban on all abortion. would sign if serious health exemption included

more likely Cl: 51 less likely Cl: 45

6. Break even, after arguments. Doing OK

## VIII. DOLE NEGATIVES

### A. Environment-Lobbyists

1. Republican Congressional leaders let lobbyists for corporations regulated by the EPA essentially write legislation changing environmental rules. Then the Republicans let the lobbyists explain the changes to lawmakers even though their companies would be affected by the new rules

more likely Dole 35 less likely: 55

2. Bob Dole supports legislation that would let insurance companies for corporate polluters avoid paying clean up costs for toxic dumping they were liable for prior to 1987, and shift those costs to the taxpayers instead.

more likely Dole 12 less likely 84

3. In 1995, Dole took more than \$200,000 in PAC contributions from companies seeking to weaken the Clean Water Act. In the same year, Dole criticized the Clean Water Act and promised to reexamine the drinking water standards in the legislation

more likely Dole 15 less likely 79

**B. Dole Pork**

**1. Tested:**

**\$43 mil in funding for Kansas Company to build 12 planes  
the Army never asked for less likely: 79**

**\$6 million to construct a Bob Dole Hall at Univ of Kansas: less-85**

**bicycle paths in North Miami Beach less: 81**

**18 mil on new subway station three blocks from Senate 84**

**\$125,000 study of a mudhole in Kansas 77**

**\$4 million to build a cosmosphere in Kansas: 86**

**2. All pork works well -- we'll use it**

**C. Foreign Lobbyist Advisors to Dole**

**1. Dole's campaign advisors include many people who serve or have  
served as foreign lobbyists for governments including Japan,  
Korea, Mexico, etc. Some say too much influence Others say  
long term friends would drop foreign work if elected**

**more likely: 26 less likely: 64 (35 much less)**

**2. Dole supporters point out that many of Clinton's current advisors  
and officials served in the past as foreign lobbyists and note  
that Dole lobbyists would end their foreign connections if Dole  
won**

**more likely Dole: 27 less likely Dole: 63**

**3. Clinton supporters say that not a single important Clinton  
advisor is a foreign lobbyist**

**more likely Dole 28 less likely Dole 62**

4. Because of our vulnerability on this issue through FOBs who are in lobbying firms, we won't use this offensively but will use it to defend against attacks on China-MFN for example (other countries will take our market share and Dole has advisors who represent these other countries)

## IX. PRESIDENTIAL STYLE -- STRONG BACKING FOR PERSUASION AS KEY TOOL

- A. Tested "Clinton is defining a new style of Presidential leadership. He is showing how a President can accomplish things not just through legislation but by getting individuals and groups to cooperate. His words are creating actions. He got the media to put in a ratings system on TV shows, computers-schools, tobacco. This new style is working

strong agree: 36  
somewhat agree: 32

total agree 68

disagree: 29

## X. EMPOWERMENT MESSAGE -- POWER TO COMMUNITIES AND INDIVIDUALS WORKS WELL

- A. Tested "Pres Clinton is returning power to communities and individuals. While the Republicans are trying to turn programs into block grants of money to be spent by the states, Pres Cl is pushing for programs that give individuals vouchers for job training, tax deductions for college, more choice through charter schools.

strong agree: 38  
somewhat agree: 31

total agree 69

disagree 28

## **XI. ENVIRONMENTAL RIDERS -- ALL VERY UNPOPULAR**

### **A. Tested with argumentation:**

- 1. EPA Wetlands 27-71**
- 2. Tongass Forest: 24-71**
- 3. Columbia River: 30-66**
- 4. Mojave Desert: 30-64**

## **XII. FOREIGN ISSUES**

### **A. Values v Interest:**

- 1. Dole says foreign policy should be based on a strict definition of national interest. If no interest, no involvement. Bosnia is example. Clinton says promote values of liberty and peace, prevent killing, stop small wars from becoming big, broader view of interest to include values for safer world**

**Dole view: 41 Clinton view: 55**

**a. lets engage him on this**

### **B. Ranking of foreign policy achievements:**

**North Korea -- stopped from getting nuclear weapons important: 75**

**Iraq-Iran -- kept terrorist nations in check important: 69**

**Bosnia -- negotiated peace settlement and enforced it no loss of life in combat important: 57**

**Israel -- Peace accords between Israel and Palestinians Important: 53**

**Ireland -- bring about a cease fire important: 47**

**Russia -- stabilize the reforms important: 47**

Haiti -- Restoring Democracy with no loss of life important: 45

1. Need to get Korea story out

2. Actions against Iran and Iraq still very important

C. Army as "Social Work"

Dole criticized Clinton for using the Army too often for what he calls social work. Haiti, Bosnia, Somalia military in social reconstruction, humanitarian programs outside proper mission. Clinton says right to use military to protect life and solve underlying causes of war

Dole agree: 43 Clinton Agree: 56

D. Basic point: We have an isolationist group of about 40% which we must try to turn against Dole if he moves too far to the right on cold war issues like Taiwan etc. His calls for toughness can be used to swing these groups against him.

XIII. DEFENSE ISSUES -- DOLE IS TOO FAR TO THE RIGHT

A. Dole's defense initiatives lack a popular mandate or backing

B. Star wars: 41- 54

1. argumentation: nuclear threats, China, North Korea, rogue nations vs. won't work against terrorism, unproven, money better spent elsewhere

34-60

C. Defense spending: increase: 22 stay same: 55 decrease: 19

1. Has military shown it has the manpower and equipment to meet international crises or is there a need to bolster the military further:

has manpower and equipment: 62  
needs further bolstering: 33

D. Strategy: Run demonstrated ability and success of military against Dole's alarmist defense statements.

Faith in the military vs. lack of faith in their current ability

1. Preparedness only works when military screws up: Iran hostages

#### XIV. INTEREST GROUP RATINGS

We tested each of six interest groups to determine who had worst image

Tobacco Companies priority to cut power: 56 importance of group: 49

Lawyers: priority: 43 importance: 61

News media priority: 43 importance: 72

NRA priority: 40 importance: 47

Christ. Coalition priority 27 importance: 41

AFL and labor priority: 24 importance: 41

Analysis: Good offense possible against tobacco and NRA, but not against Christian Coalition

Worry about attacks on lawyers but not on labor

Need: to develop a defense to lawyer attack apart from specific issues like tort reform

## **XV. OTHER ISSUES**

### **A. Smoking**

Zero tolerance for smoking on school property or at events like games or dances. smoke detectors in bathrooms. Smokers told to leave activity strictly enforced:

more likely vote C1: 63 less likely vote C1 30

great, lets do it

### **B. Welfare Reform**

Require Teenagers Moms to stay in school to get AFDC -- exec order

more likely C1:81 less likely: 13

Bruce says we can do by exec order, lets do it.

### **C. Child abuse/neglect**

Denying free legal counsel that is currently available to parents who have been found guilty of child abuse and are seeking to regain custody of their children, often on grounds that they have changed their ways

agree: 55 disagree: 37

too close for comfort

### **D. Spouse Abuse**

1. Half of insurance companies deny coverage for spousal abuse injuries. Require coverage.

more likely: 89-8

2. Calling on the ABA to encourage lawyers to offer free order of protection services to anyone who is threatened

no polling, well worth doing, obviously popular



**E. Tax Credits for Adoption/Marry Single Mothers**

Offering an additional tax credit for people who agree to take on the support obligations for a child that is not their own either by marrying a single parent or through adoption of a child

more likely vote C1: 74 less likely: 19

**F. Deadbeat Dads**

Garnish veterans checks, social security, disability if recipient is delinquent in his or her child support payments

more likely: 80-16

**G. Community Watch Volunteers**

100,000 community watch volunteers to match the 100,000 new cops to serve as added eyes and ears of police in sporting crime.

more likely: 76-21

**H. Buy American**

Urges all Americans, including every govt agency, every business every consumer to go out of their way in looking for the made in USA label whenever possible as a way to stimulating our economy and showing the pride we take in American workers

more likely 74-20

**I. Community Service**

Community service for high school seniors working in their communities at hospitals, shelters, nursing homes, and other places to earn credits they could use to pay for college tuition

more likely 86-13

I have in mind urging colleges and high schools to do this voluntarily

#### K. Out of wedlock children

Major speech on 1/4 children out of wedlock, creates social problems, need to reverse policies to encourage children to have the support of two parents

more likely 88-16

#### J. Intimidation of Federal Officials

crime to intimidate govt officials through threats of violence

strong agree: 57

some agree: 23

total agree: 80

#### K. College:

If Clinton said higher education was key to competing international economy. National goal every student have opportunity for some college. High school isn't enough anymore. At least some community college is necessary and we need to give everyone opportunity for college as we did for high school diplomas years ago

more likely Cl: 73 less likely: 26

basic new theme for campaign

#### L. Employer-Employee Duties

1. Support that employees have a duty to make company more profitable, not just do their job by 72-23
2. Support that employers have a duty to make employees more valuable through job training not just to provide a paycheck by 82-14
3. Support "employees have a duty to make a company more profitable and employers have a duty to make employees more valuable by 93-6

**M. Layoff-Stock proposal**

1. Some people say companies that downsize should be required to share some of the potential benefits of downsizing with the employees who lose their jobs by giving them stock in the company; others say that this is just unnecessary intrusion into the process and will cause cutbacks in other more useful severance benefits

Require to give stock: 51    Unnecessary intrusion 49

2. No mandate, won't work politically

**N. Immigration**

1. Best job on immigration: Dole: 38 Clinton: 45

a. less than vote share, so a danger

2. Dole for denying all benefits to illegal aliens who live here such as food stamps, welfare, and disability. Says they are not citizens and not entitled to our help

agree: 66 disagree: 32

3. Clinton says cutting off all benefits to illegal aliens is too extreme and will fill the streets with more social and crime problems. Instead, we should step up deportations

agree: 76 disagree: 23

4. Dole would deny public education to the young children of illegal aliens living in the country

agree: 47 disagree: 50

5. Clinton believes denying education would create social chaos, put tens of thousands of kids on the street. don't penalize kids

agree: 60 disagree: 40

6. Dole says allow 500,000 guest workers in from Mexico to help harvests

agree: 40 disagree: 54

7. Some say guest workers take jobs few Americans want, keeps food cheap. Others say depresses wages and they stay after visa and take jobs

agree Dole, let in workers 42 no: 53

8. who would do better job on immigration: D: 43 C: 49

9. Analysis: still a tough issue for us, but we have it blunted. Key themes are: deportations and guest workers.

as defense on benefits for illegals, attack benefits, but defend education based on social chaos and roaming kids

O. Social Security exemption from Balanced budget Amendment:

Support: 58-35

1. After argue that Soc Sec is accumulated investment by people and shouldn't be in regular budget vs if shortfall will cause taxes or cuts like any other program: 68-29
2. After argue that benefits could be cut via backdoor: 62-33
3. But oppose exclusion of Medicare by 48-49

## PRIVATE AGENDA FOR THE PRESIDENT

### I. IRAN -- A NEED FOR U.S. ACTION

A. Need for "get well" from arms exposé

B. Need sharp action against Iran as a way of pressuring Syria-Hezbollah into accord with Peres

1. Peres up 7 pts after Lebanon shelling but slipping now if he cannot produce a deal

2. Peres says that it is Iran that is calling Assad's shots and attributes their standing up of Christopher to Iran

C. Action against Iran is an essential element of avoiding the necessity of harsh action against China

D. Recommend unilateral actions -- if there are any we could take -- to restore our credibility on this issue and then follow it with soliciting joint action with the Europeans

1. Real danger if congress passes the anti-Iranian measure that is in the House. A veto would be a disaster. We must override our economic concerns and be perceived as taking bold action here

2. Foreign policy is a metaphor for character and toughness. We need to do something to Iran to fill that void.

E. Saudis remain able to supply Iranian oil to fill the void an embargo might leave.

F. Suggest strong pressure on France and Germany for joint action with allies

If Dole says revoke. Penalize human rights, export of nuclear technology to Iran and Pakistan, and Taiwan; Clinton says continue. Don't raise tensions, hurt US economy by starting a trade war denying access to China's growing markets

Dole agree: 36 Cl agree: 54

Dole says Clinton won't stand up to China and giving them MFN is example of weak. Clinton says denying MFN would hurt US economy and help other countries like Japan take over our markets Americans could have won

Dole agree: 28 Cl agree: 65

1. So: good answer based on trade war and other nations take markets

B. Suggest MFN renewal be accompanied by an "anti-military" policy designed to impact military but not civilian sectors

1. tariffs and other restrictions on products made in military owned or dominated factories

2. export controls on technology

C. Key is that we must do something against China, somewhere and somehow

#### IV. WHITEWATER

A. we tested attacks on Starr --

1. Volunteered to write a brief for Paula Jones

inappropriate: 69  
(45% very)

Contributed \$1500 to his firms PAC which gave Dole money

inappropriate: 66

Starr's firm reached a favorable settlement with RTC on a suit against Starr's firm while Starr himself was investigating RTC conduct in Whitewater

Hired by Republican Governor Thompson to argue school voucher case in court funded by conservative anti-Clinton foundation

inappropriate: 65

Represented tobacco companies in court to dismiss a class action suit while those companies are opposing Clinton on anti smoking measures

inappropriate: 58

Is Starr inquiry a serious, fair inquiry or a politically driven by his ties to Republican Party

Before above list was read: serious: 27 political: 56  
(in February: 31-52)

After list was read: serious: 21 political: 66

Should Starr resign: yes: 55 no: 31

#### V. India-Pakistan

To relieve pressure on China for sales to Pakistan and on us for failing to take effective moves against it. Suggest, after Indian election, a sub-continent American sponsored peace effort with pressure on Bhutto to halt purchases in consideration of Indian agreement to bi-lateral talks they have always resisted

VI. Suggest trip to Sarajevo to build ratings at home. Foreign trips work well

VII. Saudis request that we tell our ambassador to Yemen to bluntly talk to Yemeni leadership about their increasing linkage with Iran

7 0 5 J

96

AGENDA FOR MEETING WITH PRESIDENT-- MAY 9

I. TRACKING-- DOLE FAVORABILITY SINKS, HEAD TO HEAD STEADY,  
CLINTON APPROVAL UP

A. Head to head steady at 18 pts 53-35 (54-36 last week)

B. Job approval up to 60(from 57 last week)

1. renewed stress on positive message and new ad

C. Favorability up to 59 (from 58)

D. Re-elect at 50, up from 49

E. Dole favorability down to 45-50 (from 47-46 last week)

1. Our negatives are cutting him deeply

2. Now, we need to push hard to try to move his unfavorables to an  
unelectable range

F. Hillary Favorable at 50-40 (from 47-45)

G. Budget tracking

1. Who is most to blame for failure to reach a deal: Cl: 30 Reps: 53

a. up from last week's 33-50

b. But Dole v Cl on blame: D-39 Cl-36 (down from 41-33 last  
week)



## H. Comparison of Adjectives

1. Peacemaker	Cl 66 D 19
2. New ideas	Cl 55 D 26
3. Vision for future	Cl 52 D 30
4. Effective	Cl 51 D 45
5. Strong leader	Cl 51 D 41
6. Does Right even if unpop	Cl 49 D 35
7. Is on my side	Cl 48 D 36
8. In touch with my values	Cl 48 D 41
9. Does things because they are right	Cl 47 D 34
10. Doing a lot to bal budg	Cl 45 D 33
11. Takes clear stands	Cl 43 D 38
negative: Flip Flops	Cl 59 D 23

analysis: clear leads on everything. Most important:

way ahead on balancing the budget  
ahead on values, doing right, strong and effective

only flip-flop remains cause for concern  
(but we win by 18 pts even with that concern, so it is not  
that serious anymore)

**I. Comparison of Issue Areas**

Education	Cl 59 D 30
Health care	Cl 56 D 33
Foreign Policy	Cl 56 D 37
Welfare	Cl 51 D39
Economy	Cl 50 d 43
Crime	Cl 44 D 43
Taxes	Cl 42 D 46

Big leads in Welfare(the result of our ads) and Foreign policy(the result of your achievements) are very important news

**II GAS TAX --- LINKAGE TO MINIMUM WAGE IS THE WAY TO GO**

A. Recall of the issue is up to 69%

1. growing too fast not to act

B. Dole is seen as initiating the repeal rather than Clinton by 35-24

C. If Clinton urged repeal, they'd back repeal by 56-36

D. If Clinton urged repeal, they'd be more likely to vote for him by 51-35

E. If it were repealed, credit would go to Clinton over Dole by 26-17. but most would give credit to both (15) or neither (32)

1. They don't like Dole and don't like to give him credit for anything

F. But, Clinton's support of repeal would be seen as "political gimmick" and "flip-flop" as opposed to due to change in gas prices and cut in deficit by 58-36

1. When any politician's motives for anything are probed, swing voters will never give him the benefit of the doubt, only his core partisans
2. Dole was seen as hypocrite on the issue by 65% last week
3. Neither of these factors will stop either candidate from reaping positives or negatives from whichever side he takes on the issue
4. This will be used in Republican ads and we cannot give them a clear shot at us by vetoing the repeal
5. It is just too precise and clear that 4 cents a gallon costs a driver 50 cents to fill up his 12 gallon tank each time.
6. You know how these car issues can work (1980)

G. Repeal gas tax now or link to minimum wage increase

Repeal: 35 Link to Min Wage: 57

H. If Clinton favored gas tax repeal without conditions: 52-43

I. If Clinton favored gas tax repeal only if guarantee pass through and pass minimum wage: 75-23

1. past polling indicates that pass through is not the key element, minimum wage is

### III MINIMUM WAGE

A. Strong support for minimum wage continues--

- a. An unbelievably strong issue. Much more important than any issue now in play including gas tax.

Support-- 81-18 (Strongly support- 63))

B. Strong electoral connection- Clinton favors, Dole opposes

more likely--63      less likely--27

C. Argumentation: Automation, cut in teen jobs, increase EITC instead of minimum wage vs. living wage, adjusted for inflation, don't hit taxpayers with burden

Support minimum wage increase-- 70-26

More likely Clinton-- 64-32

#### IV RESPONSE TO DOLE ADS -- NEED FOR INSTANT PRESIDENTIAL APPROVAL OF SCRIPTS

A. We need instant access to the President for script approvals in answering Dole ads.

1. When an answer is needed and I call the President for script approval, I would request that he authorize Berry to tell him immediately and request that he either take the call or return it within a few minutes

B. General Procedure:

1. Republican ad sighted in morning of day 1.
2. Response ad anamatics are generated for mall tests on the evening of day 1
  - a. they are digitally conveyed to mall test sites
  - b. They are fact checked during day 1
  - c. script writing is coordinated with Sosnik
3. President is called on morning of day 2 for approval of script that worked in mall tests
  - a. need immediate access as per above
4. Ad is produced on day 2 and satellited to stations

5. Ad airs on one third of the stations on the night of day 3 and on all stations on the morning of day 4

a. 72 hours after attack has hit

### C. Emergency Procedure

1. When ad is so dangerous that it cannot be permitted to run unanswered for 72 hours or...

2. When point levels are too high to leave it unanswered for 72 hours, or...

3. When the Republican ad runs on a Thursday. In that case, the emergency procedure will permit a Saturday answer, whereas the regular procedure would only permit a Tuesday start date

Then:

4. Ad is seen in morning of day 1

5. Answer is produced and satellited on day 1

a. fact checked

b. approved by President

6. Ad runs on one-third of stations on evening of day 2 and on all stations morning of day three

a. 48 hours later

7. Mall test is run on evening of day 2

8. Modifications, if needed, are made on day 3 and new ad is satellited on day 3.

### D. Dole's attacks on us

1. A test of the themes used against us by Dole in his Nassau Speech Friday evening shows that none of the negative attacks work very well

2. "Clinton has brought weakness and stagnation to the nation

1. disagree: 36-62

2. likelihood of voting for Dole: more: 28 less: 62

3. "Clinton is the rear guard of the liberal tax and spend crowd that gave us big government"

a. disagree: 45-49

a. most credible of the attacks : care on taxes is still essential

b. Likelihood of vote for Dole more: 33 less: 57

4. "Clinton has a weak foreign policy that has lost us the respect of the world"

a. disagree: 43-54

b. likelihood of vote Dole more: 38 less: 55

5. Clinton has done too little to stop drugs...teens..drug use up among teens

a. disagree: 33-64

6. But when Dole goes positive, he can pick up ground:

"America needs a President who is stronger, more decisive in character and Bob Dole's life story shows how he can be that kind of President."

a. agree: 51-48

b. likelihood of vote Dole: more: 46 less: 50

c. The right move is for them to open positive, but I don't think they will

7. Dole's attacks on us are painting him into the corner of being seen as too negative.

a. Who is waging the most negative campaign?

Clinton-19     Dole-48

b. Is Dole spending too much time attacking Clinton instead of campaigning on his own merit.

Too much time attacking-- 69-23

c. Is Clinton spending too much time attacking

Too much time attacking-- 41-52

8. The right move for Dole:

a. On negatives, he needs to take account of 95 and 96 and dismiss them. Instead, he's running as if the move to the center never happened, attacking the 93-4 record as if that's all there is and ignoring the grounds for the vetoes of 95-6

1. It would work:

Clinton is really a liberal who for the last 2 years has been running a clever re-election campaign to appear much more moderate. If he is elected for a second term, Clinton will never have to answer to the voters again and he will go back to being a liberal on issues like gays in the military and raising taxes

agree: 51-46

1. We will work on answers

b. On positives, he needs to make his ads more future oriented in new proposals, not just biographic or rehashes of his side of the budget debate

V WELFARE -- NEW EXECUTIVE ORDER VERY EFFECTIVE IN REBUTTING  
REPUBLICAN ATTACKS OVER WELFARE

A. Attack on welfare by Republicans works

Clinton promised to end welfare, but two vetoes, Clinton never  
really wanted reform

more likely Clinton: 39 less likely: 51

1. a rare attack that works

B. Clinton says bills penalized children, denied day care, 37 states

more likely Clinton: 54 less likely: 36

C. same answer as B, except add executive order

more likely: C1 77 less likely 20

head to head: 58-38

D. Same as B, except add deadbeat dad actions:

more likely C1: 68 less likely: 22

head to head: 55-36

E. Conclusion: Winner is....the executive order and 37 states and penalize kids

VI NEW IDEAS

A. Voluntary teen curfews approved by parents and enforced by police

1. Experiment being tried in SC

2. Strong public support for proposal.

Support 63-32



3. Still support after argumentation- harass children, especially minorities, vs. parents can keep kids away from gangs and drugs.

Support 66-27

- B. Voters support birth control information over abstinence education as best method for High School's to prevent teen pregnancy.

1. Birth control vs. abstinence education

Birth control--60      Abstinence--36

2. We should urge both and leave it up to communities, but we do not need to be afraid of leaving the option of birth control available to local communities.

- C. Enforcement of statutory rape laws to combat teen pregnancy--Strong support.

1. Strong support for enforcement of statutory rape as means of fighting teen pregnancy

Support 61-33

2. Argumentation: Statutory rape serious, most teen pregnancy from older men vs. consensual sex OK, get child support don't lock up father

support enforcement 67-24

- D. Support DNA samples from teen mothers to trace fathers

Support 55-39

## **E. Theme for Foreign Policy Speech -- Steadiness, Judgment, Strength**

No longer can a successful foreign policy be run on the basis of rigid ideology. Today's problems, after the cold war, require strength, steadiness, and judgment

- strength when we need it,
- the steadiness to see our policies through and protect our values
- the judgment to understand where we can have influence and where it would be a mistake

These three elements must guide our foreign policy today

support 6i-27

## **VII OLYMPIC THEMES**

A. Our participation in the Olympics should be guided by a substantive theme rather than just identification with the event.

1. We should use Olympics as metaphor for our positive theme and return to it again and again in our Olympic involvement.

B. Testing of Themes:

1. Best theme : Assuming responsibility and self-improvement

73-20 (37 much more likely)

"The real meaning of these Olympics is that it shows us examples of what happens when individuals take on personal responsibility for self improvement. It shows what happens when we better ourselves and concentrate our energies on achieving a task. As each of us watches these athletes strive and win as a result of their training, we should be inspired to continue our education, get new job skills, to go back to college and to get degrees to finish HS so we can make the most of our own lives."

2. Second best theme: Race and gender don't matter

72-20

"The true meaning of the Olympics is that race and gender and other superficial differences don't really matter. We are Americans under the skin, all working together, all competing together to help our country win. When the pole vaulter clears the bar we don't think of it as a man or woman, or if he or she is Black, White, Asian or Hispanic- we think that that person is an American and we burst with pride at their successes."

3. Third best theme: AMERICA WINS

70-22

"What the Olympics mean is an example of how America can win if we all pull together. If we train hard. If we set our minds at tasks. If we disregard our differences and work together as one team. When I see Americans winning in the Olympic Stadium, I think of how we can win at global trade, in improving our society and creating more jobs and in strengthening our families- if we only apply the Olympic spirit of Team America working together."

4. Fourth best theme: Peace

65-26

"The key meaning of the Olympics is that it shows a world at peace where nations put down their guns and their suspicions, and engage in wholesome athletic competition. Let the spirit of peace go from these games to the Middle East, to Bosnia, and to other places where the spirit of war causes to children to die."

5. Worst theme: America united

60-26

"The Olympics is about how this country's strength can be found in working together, because when we are united, we never fail. Through these games we, as a nation, will reach across all of our differences of color, creed or station in life to give those who are willing to work hard a chance to succeed. I believe that this summer the world will see one America, a place where individuals are realized through common efforts. A place where different points of view and different heritage's are held together by the shared values that keep this country great and strong."

VIII MISCELLANEOUS

A. Voters support targeted tax cuts over across the board tax cuts.

1. Across the board tax cut v. targeted tuition, raising children, low income workers back targeting 59-36
2. More likely Clinton if he backs targeting- 61-34

B. Voters opposes messing with SS payroll tax:- afraid of impact on SS

1. Oppose cutting payroll tax for fear of impact on SS- jobs encouraged vs. SS endangered

Oppose payroll tax--19-74

2. They oppose cutting SS tax even with income tax subsidy of SS. oppose SS tax cut even with income tax subsidy--28-58
3. Even oppose making SS tax deductible due to concern over deficit 41 oppose making deductible- 41-51

C. Campaign Finance Reform v. Bundling by good groups- Voters want reform anyway.

1. Strongly oppose bundling in general

oppose bundling-- 58-33

2. Oppose Bundling even with argument that it would help women's candidates and groups

oppose bundling 64-30

3. Oppose bundling even with argument that women use bundling to get small direct mail donations and put them together so they can be given to women candidates

oppose bundling; 48-46

4. you should move ahead on campaign finance reform, including anti-bundling provisions

D. Voters oppose privatization of FDA testing when argumentation alludes to the profit motive by private labs in falsifying tests.

Oppose 56-39

1. Strongly support compromise where life- threatening would be publicly tested and private labs would do tests on other drugs and foods

Support- 61--33

AGENDA FOR MEETING WITH THE PRESIDENT-- MAY 15

6/6

I TRACKING -- LEAD WIDENS, DOLE RATINGS DROP

- A. Lead grows to 19 points-- 54-35 (Cl up 1)
- B. Clinton job rating steady at 60
- C. Clinton Favorability up 2 to 61
- D. Clinton Re-Elect up 2 to all-time high of 52
- E. Dole Favorability rises slightly from 45-50 to 48-48 but huge drops in his ratings vs Clinton

(Clinton v Dole)	Last Week	This Week	Gain
Effective	51-35	53-34	+3
Strong Leader	51-41	53-39	+4
In touch with my values	48-41	53-40	+6
Is on my side	48-36	55-34	+9
Takes clear stands on issues	43-38	48-38	+5
Doing a lot to balance budget	45-33	53-32	+9
Peacemaker	66-19	66-20	-1
Offers New Ideas	55-26	58-25	+4
Does things because they are right	47-34	54-34	+7
Flip flops on issues	59-23	53-32	+15
vision for future	52-30	59-29	+8
Does right, even if unpopular	50-35	50-36	+1

1

1. Huge gain on flip flop and big loss for Dole on it (as a result of Senate infighting, possibly)
2. Big gain on balancing budget
3. Important gains in leadership areas

#### ISSUE COMPARISON

Economy	50-43	56-37	+12
Crime	44-43	48-42	+5
Foreign policy	56-37	54-40	-5
Welfare	51-39	56-36	+8
Taxes	42-46	52-39	+17
Health Care	56-33	67-27	+17
Education	59-30	65-27	+9

#### Analysis:

1. Issue accomplishments at the start of current ad, which reflect the achievements in the 96 budget agreement, play very, very well
2. Huge lead on welfare is very important
3. Moving toward dominance on taxes

F. Three way race -- 49-31-13 ( Cl up 1, Perot up 1)

G. Hillary Favorability -- 51-40 (up 1)

H. Budget tracking

1. Who trust more to balance Budget?

Clinton: 41 Repubs: 42 (we are up 2)

2. Who trust more to balance budget fair to all?

Clinton: 50 Repubs: 37 (we are up 1, they dropped 3)

3. Who to blame for balanced budget failure?

Clinton: 30 Repubs: 52 (they gained 1)

a. Who to blame for balanced budget failure?

Clinton: 36 Dole: 40 (he dropped 1)

4. Unaided comparison of plans

Clinton's 49 Repubs 36 (we rose 3, they dropped 3)

5. Articulated comparisons of plans

Clinton's 64 Repubs 29

6. The best budget ratings ever -- very well positioned to fight

I. Negative campaigning.

1. Who is more negative?

Clinton: 16 Dole: 51 (was 19-51)

2. Is Dole too negative?

68-22 (same)

3. Is Clinton too negative?

34-53 (better by 3)

4. He is awfully vulnerable to running too negative a campaign

J. Product Liability Exchange -- no erosion due to ads in Michigan

Head to head unchanged in Michigan

Of those who had heard of product liability issue, lead: 54-32



## II. DOLE'S RETIREMENT FROM SENATE

### A. Superficially the "right decision" voters feel:

"Some people say Dole made the right decision by stepping down as majority leader because running for President is a full time task that requires all of a candidate's effort. Others say that it is wrong for Dole to step down and abandon his responsibility as majority leader leaving behind much unfinished business in Congress"

right decision: 56

wrong decision: 34

### B. We must make this a huge mistake on Dole's part:

1. as we get things done in government, he is on the fringe
2. he has no positive message to sustain him on the stump
3. the Republicans in Congress who remain have their own leaders and as he fades, their own agenda of achievement
4. We must keep in the voters' minds the huge failure that has been the Republican Congress for which he bears responsibility.
  - a. we cannot let him become born again as a candidate with no past and no responsibility for 95-96

### C. Dangers

1. We must avoid Washington trap by executive actions and values messages
2. Comeback by underdog
  - a. stop it by denying him a message which he needs for traction

### D. Free Media Strategy

1. Press Congress for action
2. Progress vs Partisanship -- getting it done while he wants to campaign

3. Send Dole and Gingrich off on the road and get it done here in Washington

4. Vigorous program of public action and statements to highlight contrast between President getting it done for America and Dole running for office

#### E. Paid Media Strategy

1. Pour it on to thwart his initiative. If he is still 20 points behind after this has run its course, they are dead and they know it

2. Stress themes that work in polling tonight in positive ads

3. Get it done for America, politics can wait. Dole (insert hit) But The President says balance the budget and get it done.

### III BUDGET STRATEGY

A. Goal: To stop a bad medicaid-welfare bill from reaching our desk; and if possible, to get a good one we can sign

B. Advertising --- Keep pressure on Republicans

1. Earlier proposed ad did not test well in malls

-- to negative

-- did not stress 96 accord accomplishments

2. This new suggested ad tested very well. Seek approval

Text:

America's values. Medicare for our parents. Scholarships for our children. Toxic clean-up. Protected in the budget agreement because the President stood firm.

But now, Dole, Gingrich are at it again.

Their latest plan raises taxes on 10 million working families. 18 million children endangered by health care cuts. \$167 billion slashed from medicare. Same old way.

But the President is standing firm. Balance the budget. Reform welfare. Meet our challenges. Protect our values

**C. Free Media Strategy**

1. VP and Leon and Senators and Cabinet savage budget resolution as its being passed on Thursday and Friday and over weekend

2. Suggest President respond to passage of budget resolution with a "yes, but" press briefing for Tuesday, 5-21

a. We accept their welfare and medicaid proposals if the following changes were made:

1. entitlement in medicaid, enforcement of adequate benefits

2. no tax hike on working people

3. adequate contingency fund for downturns

4. better coverage of legal immigrants in areas such as disability and medicare

5. no block grants on food stamps, child services

Hilly has 4 pts on medicaid and 4 on welfare

3. Then, next week, come in with a list of "areas of flexibility" to show we are moving to meet them

a. not an alternative budget, but areas where we can move closer to their position

b. Hilly has possible list:

1. AFDC block grants

2. Deeming to citizenship

3. No coverage for drug or alcohol abuse

4. various formula changes

5. even if not scored: debit cards instead of cash

4. Continue to push moderate coalition Congressional-based solutions

#### IV HANDLING DOLE ATTACKS

A. We have ~~war~~ gamed three likely Dole attacks and developed answers that work for each one

##### 1. Taxes and Promises

###### a. attack ad

middle class tax cut promise--tax hike  
end welfare promise -- welfare veto

b. response works that hits Dole tax hikes and praises Clinton tax cuts

##### 2. Character attack

###### a. attack ad

--Dole from Heartland; Clinton gays in military  
--Dole hero, wounded; Clinton draft dodger,  
demonstrated in London  
--Dole values Clinton: partial birth abortion,  
sex harassment suit, Whitewater

b. response works that contrasts Clinton and Dole on "values" issues

##### 3. Welfare attack

###### a. attack ad

--end welfare as we know it vs two vetoes  
--blocking replace welfare with work  
--rewards illegitimacy and dependency  
--actions louder than words

b. response ad

- quiet revolution in welfare reform
- exec order on teen moms
- 37 states
- day care
- 1.1 million off welfare
- Clinton vetoed old way
- moving people from welfare to work on his own

4. Also tested gas tax attack ad and found it did no real damage

V SECOND TERM CRITIQUE-- THE MOST DANGEROUS DOLE CHARGE

A. Most devastating attack on Clinton is that he is "really a liberal who, for the past two years has been running a re-election campaign to appear more moderate. But, if elected, he will never have to answer to voters again and will go back to being liberal on issues like gays and taxes"

more likely Clinton: 43

less likely Clinton: 47

1. Similar to 51-46 agreement in last week's poll

B. Best Answer: Respond with Time Flow of Clinton Moderate Actions

1. Over Crime:
- promise cut crime
  - crime now down
  - Brady, assault
  - 100,000 cops, 1,000 fedl terrorism agents
  - will get tougher in second term

more likely: 75-21

2. Over Welfare:
- end welfare as we know it
  - 37 states waiver
  - teen moms
  - EITC
  - second term: move to work, jobs in poor areas

72-24

3. Over Budget      --promise to cut deficit  
                         --cut in half  
                         --proposed bal budg plan

65-29

- C. Next best: show how Clinton has changed Democrats to  
                 more focus on balanced budget, tax cuts, crime, welfare  
                 reform. From government is answer to opportunity, won't  
                 go back to old liberal approach

66-27

- D. Third best: contrast Clinton and Dole positions over  
                 gun control, extra police, EITC, budget cuts

63-30

## VI DOLE AND THE AGE ISSUE

- A. Voters break narrowly, disagree that Dole is too old to be President: 44-53

- B. When told that Clinton always spoke of Dole's "old approach" in his  
         ads, and that the press criticized Clinton, saying this was a way  
         of getting voters to oppose Dole because he was too old, it had  
         little effect on voter attitude on Clinton

More likely to vote for Clinton-- 18  
Less likely to vote for Clinton-- 29  
No Difference-- 52

- C. Even if voters perceived that Clinton is saying that Dole is too old to be  
         President, the fact that Clinton is making the allegation has little effect  
         on the likelihood of vote for Clinton.

More likely to vote for Clinton-- 14  
Less likely to vote for Clinton-- 29  
No Difference-- 57

## VII VIEW OF DOLE AS MODERATE VS. EXTREMIST

A. We tested whether Dole "is a true conservative" on constitutional amendment on abortion, guns, budget cuts, or will he "moderate his positions and work to cut "pragmatic deals on these issues"

Public felt he was pragmatic, would move to center --

pragmatic: 53

true conservative: 36

B. What do they conclude from this pragmatism:

1. Dole doesn't stand for anything, just taking positions to get votes, who knows what he'll do if elected

more likely Dole: 22

less likely Dole: 71

2. Dole is Washington insider, will compromise on promises whatever he says now

more likely: 25

less likely: 70

3. If Dole moves to the center on issues like abortion, guns, etc, we can severely undermine him with insider and stands for nothing attack

## VIII TAX CUT- A TRAP FOR DOLE

A. If Dole advocates an "Across the board" tax cut, he will fall into a major trap.

1. Voters support Dole's proposal for a 15% across the board tax cut by 48-42

a. very tepid margin

2. It, however, has little impact on the race

More likely to vote Dole-- 41

Less likely to vote for Dole--50

Clinton--58

Dole--35

3. When Dole's support for tax cuts is argued (let people keep their own money, spur job growth) it fails in the face of each of two different responses.

a. When Medicare, Medicaid, Education and Environment cuts are cited in opposition to Dole's tax cut, the tax cut fails by

39-53

b.. When targeted tax cuts like tuition, per child, working poor, are cited as an alternative, Dole's tax cut fails by

34-62

c. Given the list of possible alternatives in targeted tax cuts, voters back:

Two-years free Community College-- 73-23

Four-year tuition tax deduction-- 74-22

Increased tax cut to businesses that locate in  
low income areas to create jobs for  
former welfare recipients-- 82-16

\$1,000 tax credit per child (\$500 this year and \$500  
next year)-- 78-20

4. Therefore, if Dole advocates across the board cuts, we should initially hit him over '95 budget arguments, but then move the debate to a grand referendum over whether tax cuts should be across the board or targeted.

a. Dole can't say the money isn't there for our targeted tax cuts because he proposed the tax cut first.



b. It permits us to speak of a utopian second term agenda without having to suffer the Republican chorus of "where's the money?"

i. Unlike Dole, we would not commit to a specific figure, but would indicate the targeted cuts we would support if funds became available through economic growth.

ii. This opens the door for a referendum on their side of the playing field on how to cut taxes, which we will win, that is devoid of the class warfare implications of previous argumentation on this subject.

## **IX GAS TAX- MINIMUM WAGE**

A. Voters back a stand-alone- repeal of the gas tax

1. But a veto would hurt, but not badly.

a. if Clinton vetoed the gas tax repeal:

more likely: 51

less likely: 43

less than head to head, so it would close it up a bit but not a disaster

b. But, a veto tied to the minimum wage would not hurt us:

more likely Clinton: 59

less likely Clinton: 36

2. But, since it is a tax issue, we would be best to avoid a veto

**B. Voters expect gas prices to**

rise a lot: 16

rise a little: 25

**TOTAL RISE: 41**

stay the same: 24

drop a little: 26

drop a lot: 1

**TOTAL DROP: 27**

**X SAME-SEX MARRIAGES-- PUBLIC STRONGLY SUPPORTS HOUSE BILL**

**A. Public backs House bill for federal non-recognition and letting each state make its own laws on same sex marriages, including whether or not to recognize such marriages performed in other states.**

**53-41**

**1. Probably seen as too weak by conservatives**

**B. If Clinton signed the bill, more likely to vote for him**

**more: 46 less: 43**

**C. If Clinton vetoed the bill saying he opposes same sex marriages but worries this bill would deny health benefits Clinton... to same sex domestic partners**

**more likely: 35 less likely: 51**

**D. Current bill is too liberal on this issue and Republicans will be forced to make it more draconian. We will have to veto that bill. So lets get out a signing statement as soon as we can to cover ourselves**

## XI EDUCATION AND ECONOMY -- NEW RHETORICAL APPROACHES

### A. We tested:

- 150 yrs ago had to own land to get rich
  - Europe land limited -- class structure
  - US lots of land -- equality
- This century, need capital to make money
  - only few had it, so inequalities
- Now knowledge is key to wealth
  - if we use "scholarships and other incentives to open the doors of education wide" help average American move up, dream more accessible, opportunity
  - if we cut education and only a few have it, will have to rely on trickle down which doesn't work

Agree by 77-19 (51% strong agree!)

More likely to vote for Clinton: 67-26

By far the best way to integrate history of changes, class differences, growth, education, economy and budget

### B. Also tested:

- old days didn't require much education
- industrial era, primary school education needed
- education need grew greater after World War II in global commerce so GI Bill
- technological literacy today is key
- must grow educational opportunity and lift barriers to college so Americans can share in growth

agree: 83-3 (60% strong agree!)

more likely Clinton: 70-23

**XII WHITEWATER -- ALL DEVELOPMENTS POSITIVE DESPITE  
TESTIMONY AND HEARINGS**

**A. Is President Clinton involved in serious wrongdoing?**

31% yes (37% yes on 4-23)

**B. Is Hillary Clinton involved in serious wrongdoing?**

45% yes (49% on 4-23)

**C. Is D'Amato's hearings:**

fair inquiry 23 (was 27 on 4-23)

politically driven to discredit Pres. 67 (was 64)

Continued downward slide.

**D. Is Starr's investigation**

fair inquiry: 26

politically driven: 59 (was 56)

He is now where D'Amato was three months ago

**E. After testimony adamantly denying asking Hale for loan:**

Strongly believe Clinton: 21

somewhat believe Clinton 33

total believe Clinton 54

somewhat believe Hale: 16

strongly believe Hale 12

total believe Hale 28

based on testimony: more likely to vote Clinton: 46

less likely to vote Clinton: 47

F. If Starr loses current case close investigation because politically driven during election or complete investigation because good prosecutor and get all the facts out

close investigation 44  
complete investigation: 50

G. Should Starr resign, conflicts, paper company, RTC

resign 48-35

H. If McDougal's and Tucker are found guilty is Pres involved in serious wrong doing:

35% (up 4)

1. Hillary-- 46 (up 1)

### XIII NEW IDEAS

A. Teen Curfews Revisited -- still works great

1. At the last meeting, some suggested that voters would oppose curfews if given argumentation that it was a waste of time. Voters continue strongly to support parentally imposed curfews enforced by local police despite the argument by

74-22

2. Even when tested against "it would give the police an excuse to stop any teenager for any reason... intrusion of personal freedoms" voters still support curfews by

77-20

B. Coats-Bennet Tax Credits

1. Broadly popular. Magnificent elaboration of community theme.
2. \$500 tax credit to those providing home care for homeless, poor mothers with children, unmarried pregnant women or terminally ill.

67-27

3. \$500 tax credit-- deduction-- for charitable contributions.

65-23

- a. With argumentation that it will prompt more charity donations vs. balance the budget, still support

56-34

- b. But, With argument that money will go to "fringe, non-profit groups with purposes out of step with mainstream America"

42-43

- c. probably not worth pursuing in view of argumentation

4. Reserving 15% of all public housing for married couples.

XIV PRESENTATION ON FREE MEDIA--SQUIER

XV MISCELLANEOUS

A. TEAM Bill

1. Public supports TEAM Bill 53-32

2. But, after argumentation it flips-- Pro: Employee worker communications, useful in non-union plants vs. sham unions and circumvent majority decision by workers on which unions should represent them

21-support

71 oppose

**B. Victims Rights--Strong voter support for Constitutional Amendment**

1. Constitutional Amend ment has been introduced by Feinstein and Kyl in Senate and Hyde in House

**Text:** To ensure that the victim is treated with fairness, dignity, and respect.....The victim shall have the following rights: to be informed of and given the opportunity to be present at every proceeding in which those rights are extended to the accused or convicted offender; to be heard at any proceeding involving sentencing, including the right to object to a previously negotiated plea, or a release from custody; to be informed of any release or escape; to a speedy trial, a final conclusion free from unreasonable delay, full restitution from convicted offender, reasonable measures to protect the victim from violence or intimidation by the accused or convicted offender, and notice of the victim's rights. (implemented by Congress and the states)

2. Voters back the Amendment by 74-21

a. If Clinton backed it, more likely to vote for him by 61-29

3. After argumentation-- Pro: Give victims same rights as defendants.  
Anti- Prosecutors speak for victims, frivolous Amendment to Constitution-- Still support it by 58-35

- 4 After more argumentation-- Pro: Representation in plea bargains.  
Anti: More lawyers and delays. Still support by 51-39

5. argument: do it by law

law-43 victims should have constitutional protections like defendants do 49

6. If Clinton supports, and Dole opposes

Dole agree 58 Clinton agree 35

head to head: Clinton 56 Dole 34

7. This could become the crime issue of the election if we are caught on the wrong side of it. On the right side, it could be a huge deal for us. Recommend support

a. it really holds up well in the face of argumentation

b. we need to be on the right side of this -- Dole could really take it for a ride

C. Campaign reform -- Bundling

1. Oppose bundling by 55-38

2. Tested "groups that work to elect women candidates say they have a harder time raising money...use bundling to get contributions from other states so women...equal chance... Groups don't lobby, not trying influence, reforms should make outsider elections easier, not harder vs. special interests would use loophole to maximize influence"

Groups that don't lobby should be allowed to bundle: 27  
Just a loophole for special interests: 59

D. Economic Optimism Continues

1. Better off today than in 91?

better-37 same-41 worse-22

2. economy better than under Bush

better Bush - 35

better Clinton -51

3. Unemployment up or down in past three years

up-35

down-54



4. Inflation up or down in past three years

up-58  
down-30

they get it wrong

5. Interest rates up or down in past three years

up-35  
down-54

6. Does Dole have an economic record

37-35

## PRIVATE AGENDA FOR PRESIDENT

### I. Suggest Executive Action against Iran as part of China announcement

- A. attack nuclear proliferation and terrorism risks where they take place
- B. Move against outlaw nation, shields from criticism for lack of tougher moves against China
- C. Executive Action can be patterned after Iran Oil Sanctions Act, now pending in House and Senate:

#### 1. Sanction entities that:

- a. export to Iran or Libya goods or technology on a UN list of Key petroleum tech items
- b. Invest over \$40 million a year to enhance petroleum industry in these nations

#### 2. We would impose two or more of these sanctions on such entities:

- a. deny export-import bank assistance
- b. deny licenses for export of controlled technology and prohibit imports
- c. ban as primary dealer in US bonds or as govt fund repository
- d. Prohibit US banks from lending over \$10 mil per year
- e. Ban US govt procurement of goods or services from them

#### 3. As does the statute, give yourself flexibility to delay sanctions as needed to consult with other govts or with sanctioned entity

- 1. can waive sanctions if in national interest

#### 4. By striking with exec order, you pre-empt issue and show toughness, etc.

II Peres race is very, very close (+2-+4)

Suggest statement by you saying that if Israel takes risks for peace, the US will back her up and stand by her side.

1. Peres peace initiatives are seen as imprudent and risky by Israeli public

a. Clinton reassurance would remove key problem for him

2. Clinton is MORE effective with swing voters than Peres is -- or than anyone else is

3. It would NOT be a mistake if Clinton is seen as helping Peres by helping protect Israel in the event of a peace accord

III. Suggest Sarejevo visit while in Europe for G7 meetings

IV. Ryan White Signing-- Event still has you meeting with groups after signing. Even though this is supposed to be closed press, this is still a significant and unneeded risk for you.

Suggest avoid meeting with gay groups, even closed door. It will get out and hurt, especially with reports of pressure on gay marriages

V. Suggest one or more visits to San Diego before Republican Convention

Dole

## AGENDA FOR MEETING WITH PRESIDENT ON MAY 24, 1996

### I. TRACKING - DOLE IS ESCAPING FROM THE CELLAR...WE ARE LETTING HIM DO IT

A. Vote at 54-37-- 17 points. Up 1 for Clinton, up 3 for Dole from last week.

B. Clinton Favorability at 62-- a new high.

C. Dole Favorability up 50-45-- 5 point gain from last week's 48-48.

D. Clinton job approval at 61 and re-elect at 51-- tied with past for record high.

#### E. Analysis

1. Dole has his best week through resignation. While his gains appear modest, the hardest thing to do in politics is switch direction and he did it successfully

2. Clinton moved to record high due to effectiveness of paid media.

3. Dole is escaping from the box in which we had him and may be getting off the mat.

F. Dole gains from last weeks lows in almost all adjective categories.

#### 1. Adjective

Effective	Dole gains 5 (Cl ahead by 4)
Strong Leader	Dole gains 10 (Cl ahead by 4)
Touch w/ values	Dole gains 3 (Cl leads by 10)
On my side	Dole gains 3 (Cl leads by 15)
Clear stand on issues	Dole gains 20 (Dole leads by 10)
Balancing the budget	Dole gains 11 (Cl leads by 10)
Peacemaker	Dole gains 10 (Cl leads by 36)
New Ideas	Dole gains 17 (Cl leads by 16)

Does things cause they're right      Dole gains 10 (Cl leads by 10)

Flip- Flops      Dole gains 17 (Cl trails by 38)

Vision for future      Dole gains 11 (Cl leads by 19)

Does right thing even when unpopular      Dole gains 10 (Cl leads by 4)

New questions --

Liar/ Not truthful      Cl-42      Dole-18

Says one thing/does something else      Cl-51      Dole-25

Talker/ Not a doer      Cl-49      Dole-30

Desperate      Cl-40      Dole-46

Analysis: These adjectives are lead indicators and suggest that he is breaking through. In the face of a virtual monopoly of paid media, he was able to post double digit gains on:

Strong Leader  
Clear stand on issues  
Balancing the Budget  
Peacemaker  
New Ideas  
Does things cause they're right  
Flip-Flops  
Vision for Future  
Does right thing even when unpopular

## 2. Issues

Handling economy      Dole gains 17 (Cl leads by 2)

Crime      Dole drops 2 (Cl leads by 8)

Foreign Policy      Dole gains 5 (Cl leads by 9)

Welfare      Dole gains 7 (Cl leads by 13)

Taxes	Dole gains 17	(Cl trails by 4)
Health Care	Dole gains 18	(Cl leads by 22)
Education	Dole gains 13	(Cl leads by 25)

Analysis: Adjectives are the lead indicator, favorability is the next indicator, vote share is the lagging indicator

Dole is about to break this race wide open and slash our lead to single digits.

We must not let him

Recommendation: Run our negative ad "empty"

G. Hillary at 1996 record high of 54-40 (up from 51 last week).

H. Negative campaigning-- Clinton has clear advantage although it dropped a bit.

1. Dole is seen as doing more negative campaigning by 46-22  
(Compared to 51-16 last week.)
2. Dole is perceived as waging negative campaign by 69-23 (no change).
3. Clinton not waging negative campaign 57-33 (gain of 5).
4. we could carry this edge into our grave. This lead in positive campaigning is to be spent, not hoarded, to buy us credibility to run negatives we need

I. Tracking of news events

1. Court ruling on anti-gay measure-- 65% heard
  - a. Support ruling-- 46-43
  - b. Believe Clinton supports ruling-- 51-25
  - c. Believe Dole opposes ruling-- 27-40
  - d. It is terribly significant that in this week in which so much happened that the single event with the highest recall was

this court decision. It illustrates the extraordinary sensitivity of the public to the gay issue.

1. Fortunately, the public broke even on this issue so we were not hurt.

2. Megan's Law-- 46% heard

a. More likely to vote Clinton-- 46-20%

3. Dole speech on welfare reform-- 28% heard

a. Less likely to vote Dole-- 35-45%

b. But, Dole did pick up 7 points on us in welfare comparison.

4. President's Wisconsin Waiver-- 27% heard

a. More likely to vote Clinton-- 55%-35%

## II. REACTION TO DOLE'S RESIGNATION

A. As time has progressed, more people support Dole's decision.

1. On Thursday, the day after, voters back decisions by 67-16

2. On Tuesday and Wednesday night, support grew to 71-19.

B. After argumentation, still support Dole's decision-- 65-28.

C. However, Dole is highly vulnerable on the implications of this decision

Attack on Dole

Leaves behind gridlock Dole pushes budget cuts in medicare etc.

Much less likely Dole-43% Total Less likely Dole-61%

Dole gives tearful speech, then runs negative ads

Much less likely Dole-40% Total Less likely Dole-60%

Dole no leadership, proposed stuff, then flip flopped and left

Much less likely Dole-37% Total Less likely Dole-59%

Dole pension

Much less likely Dole-37% Total Less likely Dole-58%

Clinton leads to do things, Dole won't work with President

Much less likely Dole-36% Total Less likely Dole-58%

Bob Dole leaves country in lurch when key bills come up

Much less likely Dole-35% Total Less likely Dole-58%

Text of Empty Ad without visuals:

Much less likely Dole-39% Total Less likely Dole-57%

Congress and Dole did nothing, now he quits

Much less likely Dole-34% Total Less likely Dole-57%

Bob Dole leadership failed, now quits President?

Much less likely Dole-36% Total Less likely Dole-56%

Clinton says that politics can wait. Now pass welfare etc

Much less likely Dole- 32% Total Less likely Dole-56%

Dole failed to campaign from Senate desperate bid to revive campaign

Much less likely Dole-34% Total Less likely Dole-55%

Dole is highly vulnerable and let's hit him right now to reshape views about his resignation



### III. OVERCONFIDENCE AND RISK AVERSION-- THE CREEPING CANCER OF THIS CAMPAIGN

#### A. This campaign is tongue tied

##### 1. Total failure to make nightly news

###### CLINTON V DOLE ON NETWORK NEWS

(omits irrelevant non-message coverage on Boorda, FAA and voice over coverage without candidate speaking)

DATE	CLINTON	DOLE
5-13	no	no
5-14	no	no
5-15	no	all three -- Dole resigns
5-16	no	2 of 3 -- Chicago speech
5-17	no	no
5-18	no	no
5-19	no	2 of 3 --Florida speech
5-20	no	no
5-21	no	all three -- Welfare reform
5-22	1 net on star wars	no

#### B. The events we didn't do:

1. Suggested answer to Dole's resignation was rejected as "artificial" and the President "wasn't ready"
2. Suggested Presidential announcement of Iraqi oil agreement. was rejected initially as premature and then, later as "too late because the President had taken a nap."

3. Suggested welfare response on Wednesday, was rejected because the decision was too "hurried" and then we made the same statement on Thursday, a day late

C. This is the portrait of a campaign bent on the same self-destructive caution that caused the collapse of 1994.

D. White House and campaign must adopt a pro-response bias.

E. We haven't made a mistake on TV since Houston. The caution and reasons against going out and doing something must not get the upper hand.

F. We haven't made the same adjustment to responding to Dole as a candidate with alternative positives that we did during the budget war vs him as a legislator

1. we rely on bite sized jabbing rapid response replies, which are fine but need to use counter positioning by President and VP as major line of counter

#### IV. STRATEGY OF ENGAGEMENT-- FREE MEDIA PHILOSOPHY

A. We do best when we are showcased next to Dole

1. Don't avoid engagement by trying to be above the battle -- join it
2. seek out side by side coverage on news
3. comparison with Dole is a relief to people who are used to judging us vs perfection

B. Need one announcement by the President every Monday, Tuesday, Wednesday, and Thursday. We benefit by contrast with Dole.

1. the theory of doing 2-3 a week, not every weekday night is unsound because we can't predict when events will force us off the air
2. We need to put out a message, by the President, every single weekday night except Fridays (no good TV news)
3. Can do events in Washington to minimize impact on President's time
4. Can do events with minimal visuals, if necessary, the key is to do it--

--whether or not it can be done with good visuals

5. Don't do major initiatives over weekend radio address

a. TV more important than print and no Saturday TV

(compare impact of Meagan -- done on weekday -- vs welfare Wisconsin waiver done on Saturday radio

6. Suggest 8:30 conf call on positive message, like 9:00am call on rapid response

C. We have a higher bar than before on making statements and getting them covered on the networks

1. must either be bold and important policy proposal

2. or major campaign move vis a vis Dole

3. or important executive initiative

## V. A DOLE TAX CUT MOVE-- THE ONLY WAY DOLE CAN WIN

A. Dole's two issue gambits have not worked

1. Gas tax got him nothing.

a. Minimum wage/strategic petroleum reserve tactic worked.

2. Welfare offense so far has done little.

a. We still hold 13 point edge on welfare

i. even though he gained 7 points on this issue.

b. In the absence of paid media, only 28% heard of his welfare move

c. 27% heard of our Wisconsin waiver which constituted effective blockage.

B. In going to a tax-cut move, Dole is making his third bid for a breakout.  
--his third long bomb

C. A tax cut move that we do not defend can put him right back in the race.

1. When told Dole proposed "major across the board tax cut" the head to head dropped to 45-45. A 17 point gain for Dole.

a. this represents the first time in any simulation in the past four months that we found an issue that gets him back to even

b. tax cut moves always do better in reality than in surveys

1. witness Whitman's "failed" tax cut proposal that eventually powered her past Florio

2. We have never had the credibility on the issue of tax cuts that we have acquired on balancing the budget, fighting crime or reforming welfare

Our lead on... Welfare-- 53-40

Crime-- 49-41

Balanced 44-34  
Budget

But Dole wins Taxes by 41-45.

a. Therefore, any Dole move on tax cuts must be handled from a pro tax-cut position.

i. Just like welfare, balanced budget and crime are all addressed from a pro-welfare reform, pro-balanced budget and anti-crime position.

ii. Cannot be perceived as Democratic opponent of tax cut.

D. Opposition to across the board tax cut and support for targeted tax cut must be the lynch-pin of our position.

1. When voters are asked who they would support if Dole advocated an across the board tax cut and Clinton backed targeted tax cuts for families with children, tax incentives for business to create jobs in

empowerment zones and tax deductions to help finance a college education,

Oppose by 30-64

2. Tactical response to Dole proposal should be hypocrisy and pandering.

Dole is a hypocrite and is pandering...Dole has consistently voted for billions in tax increases

Oppose by 36-57

- a. Dole has a lot better rating on hypocrisy than we do, argument is up hill
- b. We are seen as taxers, so it is the bad vs the hypocrite even if we succeed
- c. Hypocrite is a short term, limited gain, harassing response to Dole's tax cut NOT the key to winning the issue

3. Medicare, Medicaid, education environment cut defense must be used very, very gingerly since it suggests opposition to tax cuts.

Oppose only by 41-54

- a. We must use this argument only to attack the size of the Dole tax cut and support smaller tax cuts which are targeted.

i. In this debate, a straight liberal opposition to tax cut or even leading with the Medicare argument would be a disaster since we have not established sufficient credibility for our own desire to cut taxes.

E. We can fight all election season on the BIG issue of targeted vs. across the board tax cut.

- 1. The argument is played on their side of the field, how best to cut taxes, so gains come out of their hide. This argument permits us to address democratic goals- education etc...- with Republican tools- tax cuts- and leaves us in perfect positioning.

a. We must seek to make this the big issue over which we fight the election.

i. In the argument of across the board vs. targeted tax cut we have a tax cut equivalent to the debate over welfare vs. targeted education and environment spending and investments

ii. like 1993 spending vs investment distinction

2. It inoculates us against their best charge: that we are high taxers and gives us antibodies against 1993 tax hike hit

a. If we are always debating how to cut taxes, it is hard to sell that we want to raise taxes

b. but, if we use medicare etc to oppose a tax cut, then our propensity to raise taxes becomes highlighted

3. Conclusion

a. use homeowner event next week to move first tax cut proposal

1. no cap gains for home sales up to \$500,000

b. use Princeton speech on June 4 to move big idea of free community college through refundable tax credit

## VI. FEAR OF CLINTON SECOND TERM LIBERALISM

A. A very potent issue and they are onto it

B. Will Clinton be too liberal in second term?

concerned-56 not concerned-41

C. Will Dole be too conservative in first term?

concerned-59 not concerned-36

D The answer: raise fears of Dole's first term to overshadow Clinton's second term

Clinton too liberal v Dole-Gingrich pass medicare, guns, environment

fear Clinton 37 fear Dole 54

E. If you knew that Dole's agenda included: medicare cuts, assault weapon repeal, environmental cuts, eliminate Dept of Educ

less likely vote Dole 74 much less likely 52

a. best we have ever seen in hypothetical

**F. WE MUST USE DOLE'S OVERT AGENDA TO OFFSET FEARS OF CLINTON'S HIDDEN AGENDA**

**VII. CONVENTION**

A. Central goal is to put the New Democratic Party on display, not the old one;

1. best answer to second term liberal charge

B. And, to make sure the Republican Convention does not change their party image, but, rather, fights along the old lines used in 95 and 96

C. To accomplish these goals, resonate on three levels

1. In the hall
2. In the city
3. In the nation

D. Democratic Convention

1. In the hall

a. be sure that each night is dominated by New Democrats and our issues

b. make sure there are either no platform fights or we win them for moderate positions

2. In the city

a. poll Chicago to identify new democrat themes with local and Daley resonance

3. In the nation

- a. use train trip to show President and our message as convention goes on
- b. run ads during the convention to shape the public attitudes toward it

#### **E. Republican Convention**

- 1. in the hall
  - a. maximize intra-party fighting through rapid response team
- 2. In the city
  - a. through San Diego polling, identify Clinton themes that work in the city
  - b. use paid media ads during the weeks before convention to ratchet up public focus on these issues
- 3. In the nation
  - a. run ads during the convention to shape public perceptions of what is going on

#### **VIII. CRIME VICTIMS AMENDMENT**

- A. Best way for Dole to get crime issue back
- B. Very important to back it
- C. Statute doesn't suffice since it gives criminal defendant higher standing than victim
- D. must make prompt decision before Dole gets smart and challenges us on it
- E. Suggest start with proposal on amendment and immediate passage of statute while amendment is being ratified



## IX TARGETTING -- HOW TO REACH THE SWING VOTERS NEW IDEAS

### A. Education -- the New basics

1. While some preach back to basics and we agree strongly, we also need to teach the new basics

Q Many people in education speak of the basics --literacy and math  
We need to teach the basics, but we need to teach the new basics too. Things like computer literacy, which are fundamental to the new era we are entering.

(best way to describe it: the traditional basics plus the new basics)

80-14 likelihood of Clinton vote (38 much more likely)

	strong agree	total agree
respect for others	85	95
hard work and responsibility	84	95
to resolve disputes without violence	77	91
computer literacy	66	88
how to stay healthy	64	92
parenting	60	82
learning to adapt to new situations and innovate	58	91
learning to analyze media and ferret out the truth	58	82
learning about emerging career fields to make informed judgments	57	89

### B. Teen Pregnancy

1. still support HS focus even if it cuts time "allocated to teaching academic subjects."

64-31

### C. Foreign child labor

1. Strong support for ban on importation of goods made overseas with child labor

68-30 (Including 57% strong support)

**D. School Construction --- very important concern; key issue**

**1. Support increased funds for school construction and repair**

86-13 (60 strong support)

a. one possibility would be an interest rate subsidy of 3 percentage points to localities in their tax exempt borrowing to fund school construction. This would permit a \$10 billion school construction program, for example, with an allocation of only 3% of the total each year -- \$300 Million.

**E. Support for Holding Parents Responsible for Crimes of their children**

**1. Make them pay restitution**

66-28

**F. Tax Credits**

**1. \$500 for caring for an elderly person in your home**

86-12 (includes 60% strong support)

**2. \$500 for charitable donation**

polled before, good backing, but pre-empted by Dole yesterday

**G Free Community College if high school B average & 90% attendance**

75-22 (48 strong support)

**FREE MEDIA PROPOSED SCHEDULE**

Baer and I propose following schedule of events

Education standards/children safety

May 28 Drugs with McCaffrey

May 29 The new basics in education: computer literacy, citizenship,

parenting, etc.  
May 30-teen curfews

### **Building blocks of American dream: college and homes**

June 4-Princeton Speech, pivoting on free public education in first two years of college  
June 5-Teen pregnancy, hs education. local option birth control/abstinence and statutory rape  
June 6-homeowners event with announcement of no capital gains taxes on homeowner sales gains of less than \$500,000

### **Family/Environment**

June 9-Endangered species condor release at Grand Canyon  
June 10-speech on community helping the family at California comm coll  
June 11- Immigration in Los Angeles  
June 12-truancy guidelines by DOE for enforcement  
June 13-appeal to new majority leader to pass McCain Feingold

### **Fight To defend welfare/medicaid veto**

June 17-exec order: no welfare if no ID of fathers  
June 18-exec order: no welfare if not immunize  
June 19-endorsement of victims' rights constitutional amendment  
June 20-posting deadbeat Dad photos in Post Offices, seizure of benefits  
June 24-Pregnancy Stamps-from Hillary book-extra food stamps for pregnant women or for first six months of infant  
June 25 day off  
June 26- enforcement of civil laws (NYC strategy) and community watch volunteers with Bratton if possible

## **MISCELLANEOUS**

### **A. Community as Olympic Theme**

#### **1. tested:**

"each athlete got here by a nurturing family of coaches, friends, and role models. We don't strive or succeed alone. This is an example of how

Americans must come together in their communities to meet our nation's challenges in areas like crime, education, and preserving our values"

best of all themes tested -- 75-19 (35 much more)

**B. Balanced Budget Amendment**

**1. basic support**

76-21

**2. But can be defeated in argumentation**

Dole -- need amend to balance, CI not really for bal budg

CI-- cut deficit in half, annual cuts, no need to turn budget over to courts by amendment

oppose by 41-52

**C. They really do not feel inflation is down**

63-21 say prices are rising faster than in 1991

**D. Labor riders**

**1. break even on no union dues for candidates!**

49-47

**2. BUT back comp time**

75-24

**a. even with arguments**

give employees choice v unions say workers will be intimidated and will take time when they really need money & that employers wont really give time

76-22

**E. MFN**

Best argument is that our market share in China will be usurped by Japan etc.

**F. Media Needs**

Need date to film you for ad footage -- having trouble getting one

Need to buy Competitive Media Reports service to track enemy ads traffic, and rotation.

--CNN and RNC has it, but haven't gotten OK for us to get it

--expensive -- about \$250,000 through election, but we need it to rebut ads when and where they run. With 750 stations in US, only way to keep track

AGENDA FOR MEETING WITH THE PRESIDENT--May 29, 1996

I. TRACKING -- DOLE RISE BLUNTED; WHITEWATER HURTS US

A. Head to head down 1 (us down 2, him down 1) to 52-36

B. Job rating up to new high of 62

C. Favorability down 2 to 59

a. personal negatives, not job performance

D. Re-elect down 2 to 49

E. Dole favorability down from 50-45 to 48-46

F. Dole drops, we rise on all most adjectives

ADJECTIVE	Last week	This Week	Change
(Clinton v Dole)			
effective	46-42	50-40	+6
strong leader	47-43	51-43	+4
in touch with my values	50-40	51-39	+2
is on my side	50-35	52-34	+3
takes clear stands on issues	37-47	41-46	+5
doing a lot to bal the budg	44-34	45-34	+1
peacemaker	61-25	67-21	+10
new ideas	50-34	54-32	+6
does thing because they're right	47-37	49-36	+3
flip flops	61-23	61-24	+1
vision for future	52-33	53-33	+1
does right even when unpopular	44-50	48-48	+6

Because our ad is a personal character hit, it reverses Dole's rise on all adjectives

①

## ISSUES

economy	48-46	48-45	+1
crime	49-41	48-43	-1
foreign policy	50-41	53-35	+9
welfare	53-40	50-42	-5
taxes	41-45	47-40	+11
health care	57-35	58-32	+4
education	57-32	61-30	+6

We gain in all areas of issue comparisons because of basic trend set in motion by the ad; Dole gains only in welfare and crime, the two areas he hit specifically this week.

G. No hit on us for negative campaigning -- rather a hit on them

1. Who is waging more of a negative campaign

Dole 52-18; up from 46-22 last week

2. Is Clinton too negative:

no 38-52; down from 33-57 last week

3. Is Dole too negative

yes 67-24; up from 69-23 last week

## II. WHITEWATER

A. Have you heard of verdict convicting Tucker and McDougals

yes 67

1. Did you watch TV news tonight?

yes 31

B. Rating on Clinton wrongdoing in Whitewater

34% wrongdoing -- up from 31, but not at historic high of 37

**C. Rating on Hillary wrongdoing**

44% wrongdoing — down from 45%, not at historic high of 51

**D. Did Clinton tell truth in his testimony at Whitewater trial**

yes 39-34

a. Huge undecided of 27%. Key swing in this controversy

**E. Is Starr's inquiry a serious, fair inquiry or is it politically driven?**

serious fair — 38 political -- 52

(down from 26-59 two weeks ago)

a. this is the major impact, a move up for Starr's credibility and ability to act on other fronts

**F. Does this verdict make you more/less likely to believe Clinton's involvement in Whitewater**

more: 24 less: 8 no effect: 65

**G. ....Hillary's involvement**

more: 26 less: 9 no effect: 60

**H. Does verdict make you more/less likely to vote for Clinton**

more: 25 less: 46

Impact is important, especially since our historic high in vote share is 54 and 46% are less likely due to the verdict

**I. Clinton was a witness for the defense and testified that he didn't pressure Hale to make a loan to Susan McDougal. Does the jury verdict question the credibility of the President or do you think the jury found the defendants guilty on the basis of other evidence without contradicting what the President said?**

verdict questions credibility: 21  
found them guilty on other evidence: 48



**J. Then, we attempt to probe for negative reaction --**

1. Supporters of Clinton say these cases did not involve him and point out that the federal prosecutor specifically said that the case does not involve Clinton. Opponents say Clinton is deeply involved. They say that Susan McDougal was charged with getting a fraudulent loan from Hale and that Hale testified that Clinton pressured him to make the loan. In finding Susan McDougal guilty, the jury decided that the loan was fraudulent and that they believed Hale's charge, not Clinton's denial.

more likely vote Cl: 28 less likely: 51

2. Bill Clinton was a witness for the defense in this trial and testified that he did not pressure Hale to make the loan to Susan McDougal. They jury nevertheless, convicted Susan McDougal obviously not believing Clinton's account

more likely vote Clinton: 27 less likely: 51

**K. Effect on head to head**

At the start of Whitewater series, head to head was 54-37; at the end of the series, it dropped to 52-38

Analysis: We are likely to slip a few more points over whitewater verdict, but if we win the battle of whether the jurors think Clinton told the truth, then we are likely to recover this lost ground next week as our ads defeat their ads and our free media beats theirs.

1. The electorate likes Clinton a great deal and is very reluctant to conclude anything bad about him. Thus, the contour of the ground works very much in our favor.

2. We need to win the battle of the jurors, which we seem to be doing, and use them to amplify that you had nothing to do with the verdict.

3. I believe we will establish a pattern where we drop when we get bad Whitewater news and then go back up to our regular head to head once we overcome it.

**L. Paula Jones --**

**1. Did you hear about Clinton invoking the Soldiers and Sailors relief act to seek to delay a sexual harassment suit brought against him by Paula Jones.**

**yes: 45**

**2. Paula Jones is suing Clinton for sexual harassment which she claims took place in a motel room in Arkansas. Clinton is asking the court to delay the lawsuit until after he has left office as president. Should or should not delay lawsuit?**

**delay: 49      don't delay: 44**

**a. We do surprisingly well on this. I never would have imagined that we would break even on the issue of delay. It shows how much the voters want to protect the President**

**3. Lawyers for Paula Jones say that she is entitled to justice now and that delaying the suit might mean that she never gets a fair trial because witnesses forget, die or move away. Lawyers for Clinton say that the president is too busy to participate in a trial and that having to devote the time to it would interfere with his job as president. Should court delay until after Clinton leaves office?**

**delay: 48      don't delay: 48**

**4. President Clinton's lawyers recently said that as Commander in Chief of the armed forces, Clinton is protected from civil suits by the Soldiers and Sailors Relief Act which provides that members of the military may not be sued while they're on active duty. This law was passed in 1940 to protect servicemen on active duty. Do you agree that this law should apply to President Clinton...**

**agree: 44      disagree: 49**

**5. Republicans attack President Clinton for using this law to delay the suit saying that since Clinton ducked the draft and never wore a uniform, it is hypocritical for him now to claim protection as Commander in Chief. Does this make you more likely to vote for Clinton...**

**more likely vote Clinton: 34      less: 49**

6. Clinton's lawyers say they are not relying on this statute but just used it as an example of how sometimes the President is protected from lawsuits under various statutes, of which this was one. Does this make you more likely to vote for Clinton...

more likely: 35

less: 49

7. Effect on head to head: no effect

Analysis: not a significant flap. A phony issue, not serious.

All this draft-war stuff is just way overrated by people who think in a certain mindset and cannot believe other people think differently

M. Impact of "I'm no quitter" rebuttal by Dole to our ads:

1. Our ad -- Empty -- makes people less likely to vote for Dole by 28-55

2. His rebuttal -- unfair personal attack/ never quit anything/ didn't quit in Italy/ didn't quit when doctors said he'd never walk again/ not quitting now/ taking case to the people/ who is Clinton, who never put on a uniform in his life, to call me a quitter

more likely Dole--43

Less likely--45

3. Our re-rebuttal ad: Fair/Dole resigned while no balanced budget or welfare reform has been passed/ abandoning his pledge to finish the work before Congress/Puts campaign ahead of people's business

more likely Dole: 31

Less likely--55

Analysis: The ad works and his free media answer is offset by our free media rebuttal. The paid media carries the day.

### III. AD WAR -- REPUBLICANS BUYING TIME TO START SATURDAY

A. Spending \$3 million this coming week on a mix of 30s and 60s

1. If it were all 30s, it would equal a \$2.4 million buy  
-375 pts of 30  
-125-150 of 60

May  
28, 1996

2. We are on for only \$1.2 million — need increased buy

-we are on for 270 of 30s

B. With Whitewater in the atmosphere, recommend increase to ...  
coming week

-would give us competitive level

C. Their 60 sec ad is:

Dole: We have a moral obligation to give our children an America with  
the opportunity and values of the nation we grew up in.

Voice Over: Bob Dole grew up in Russell, Kansas

From his parents he learned the value of hard work, honesty and  
responsibility. So when his country called... he answered.

He was seriously wounded in combat.

Paralyzed, he underwent nine operations.

Dole: I went around looking for a miracle that would make me whole  
again.

VO: The doctors said he would never walk again. But after 39 months,  
he proved them wrong.

Libby Dole: He persevered, he never gave up. He fought his way back  
from total paralysis.

VO: Like many Americans, his life experience and values serve as a  
strong moral compass.

The principle of work to replace welfare.

The principle of accountability to strengthen our criminal justice  
system.

The principle of discipline to end wasteful Washington spending.

Dole: It all comes down to values. What you believe in. What you  
sacrifice for. And what you stand for.

**D. Their 30 sec ad is:**

**Annc:** To balance the budget we need to end wasteful Washington spending. Bill Clinton just can't do it.

**Clinton:** "I would present a five year plan to balance the budget.

"... we could do it in 7 years"

"...I think we could reach it in 8 years."

"... balance the budget in 10 years."

"... I think we could reach it in 8 years"

"...so we're between 7 and 9 now"

**Annc:** No wonder Bill Clinton opposes a Constitutional Amendment to balance the budget.

**Clinton:** "Seven, nine, ten, eight, five"

**Annc:** Talk is cheap. Double talk is expensive. Tell Mr. Clinton to stop his wasteful Washington spending.

**E. We propose this answer:**

**Innocent Americans gunned down by deadly assault weapons. The President passed a law to ban them.**

**But Dole, Gingrich voted no.**

**Tobacco ads target our children. One million hooked every year.**

**The President said ban the ads. Dole and Gingrich say no.**

**Mothers need time to care for newborns. The President passed family leave.**

**Dole, Gingrich no again.**

**The President's plan: Balance the budget, reform welfare, protect medicare. Do our duty to our parents and our children. Protect our values.**

P9 May 8  
F. We request permission to air this ad on Saturday

a haven't yet mail tested this response per se, but have each of the elements

Analysis: They are using Dole's biography to prove that he will American values.

We must use our and Dole's public record to prove that he won't.

Our mail tests show that their .30 negative doesn't work well. The ad that shows you flip-flopping on the number of years to balance the budget doesn't do much.

If we run our ad and they run their ads for a week at a \$2 million for us and \$3 million for them levels, we will emerge with a decisive win in the exchange

#### IV. BUDGET TRACKING -- WORRISOME GROWTH FOR REPUBLICANS

A. Who trust more to balance the budget:

now--	CI 39	Repubs 46
last wk	41	42

B. Who trust to balance in way that is fair to all

now:	CI 49	Repubs 40
last wk	50	37

C. Who more to blame for failure to bal budg, cut taxes, ref welf

now:	CI 32	Repubs 55
last wk	28	55

D. Who more to blame...

now:	CI 37	Dole 40
last wk	36	37

E. Analysis: Republican budget is moving the issue in their direction; we must act quickly to regain the issue

V CABINET NEGATIVES -- AN EFFECTIVE REPUBLICAN HIT

A. Tested possible Dole ad:

"Clinton's administration filled with scandal. Three members investigated by special prosecutors -- Cisneros for lying to FBI, Espy for bribes, Brown for hiding assets...O'Leary criticized for trips costing taxpayers....First Lady before a grand jury...special prosecutor investigates President." Does this make you more likely to vote for Clinton...?

More likely--24      Less likely--61

An effective shot at us

B. Reply works well

"Clinton's cabinet and administration done a huge amount for American people...FDA on cigarettes, Dept of Ed computers in schools, high ed standards, headstart. Justice ban on assault rifles, waiting period, background checks, 100,000 police. All this in the administration of Bill Clinton." Does this make you more likely to vote for Clinton...?

More likely--53      Less likely--37

Public values beat private character

## VI THEME FOR CONVENTION FILM

### A. Tested:

"There is a quiet revolution in America...all part of it...moving from being separate individuals to one community working together...Millions using family leave Clinton passed to bond with newborns. Community groups working with 100,000 new Clinton police....million men march on Washington, more in baseball stadiums, pledge better fathering. billions more in child support due to Clinton efforts. Inter racial adoptions up, teen pregnancy down. TV nets ratings, Clinton requires V chip. Computer companies follow Clinton lead and donate billions in free computers for schools...higher ed standards, outreach to parents. Clinton fight teen smoking and drug use with parents. DWI down. From Okla City to Northern Ireland to Rabin funeral, curb violence. Old wisdom to new landscape. If I trust the best in other person, I'll get the best for me." Support basic premise...?

Support-- 74 Oppose--22

Likelihood of vote for Clinton: More: 58-32

## VII CRIME VICTIMS CONSTITUTIONAL AMENDMENT

With Dole endorsement of this Amendment, it is now terribly important that we proceed with it.

## VIII NEW IDEAS

### A. New crime ideas

1. Safety standards at cash machines including video cameras

Support--80 Oppose--16

strong support: 48

2. Computerized fingerprint matching to cut errors and speed process

Support--80 Oppose--15

strong support- 52



3. Video-conferencing with precinct hookups so police interview suspects and witnesses without wasting travel time

Support--66 Oppose--27

strong support- 32

4. Digitized, computerized face identification to make witness descriptions easier and more accurate

Support--83 Oppose--12

strong support-49

5. Computerizing police cars to permit mug shots to be beamed directly into squad cars along with other information

Support--89 Oppose--8

strong support-65

6. DNA testing of all who are arrested to aid in identifying them if they commit another crime

Support--64 Oppose-32

strong support-39

**B. School construction for parochial schools**

1. If Clinton proposed school construction for public and parochial schools

Support--59 Oppose--31

Compares with 86-13 support without mention of parochial schools last week.

2. Supporters of helping parochial schools say they educate millions and we should help them get a quality education, no constitutional violation if only physical facilities. Opponents say violates separation of church and state and unconstitutional to use tax money for helping parochial schools

Doesn't violate/help schools build--44

Violates church and state/no tax dollars--46

Don't link it to parochial schools, it costs too many points.

### C. Comp time

1. Bill pending require employers to offer employees choice of cash overtime payments or time off

Support--68 Oppose--23

We should support this and bill it as Family Leave part II

2. Labor unions oppose bill saying workers in minimum wage jobs would be scared to death to ask for money for overtime and this will permit bosses to intimidate them so that they ask for time off even though they need the money. Supporters of the bill say that many employees want the time off to be with their families as opposed to the cash and this bill permits them to ask for it.

Support--66 Oppose--27

Argument doesn't work, still support.

3. Some oppose this bill saying that employees can be fired before they use the compensatory time and boss will constantly pressure them to postpone using the time off saying that they can't be spared right now. But supporters of the bill say that it requires employers to pay cash whenever 48 hours of compensatory time has been accumulated by an employee.

Support--64 Oppose--30

This is the fourth argument we have run against it and none work.

**IX MISCELLANEOUS**

**A. Star Wars**

1. Dole introduced bill for Star Wars missile defense system which costs \$60 billion

Support--27 Oppose--66

(was 41-54 opposed when tested at \$30 billion, extra \$30 billion hurts it badly)

(With higher cost estimate, now a strong liability to him. Wasn't when it was only \$30bil, but is now)

2. Dole says we need \$60 bil Star Wars to protect US from potential missile attacks from rogue states. Dole wants to abolish Dept of Education, which includes anti-drug programs, reading programs, class size...

Support--18 Oppose--77

Can use good old McGovern-like comparisons like this one and now they work well

3. Dole says we need \$60 bil Star Wars protect rogue states....Clinton says system could be obsolete tomorrow and wants instead to spend \$60 bil on 2 free years of college...

Support--31 Oppose--63

McGovern-like social v defense comparison works

- B. Does Republican Convention in California and Democratic Convention in Chicago hurt us? — no**

more likely Dole: 5 less likely Dole: 11 no difference: 84

## **PRIVATE AGENDA FOR THE PRESIDENT**

### **A. Yeltsin**

1. Yeltsin has lengthened lead in first round to 36-21. A huge gain
2. In aftermath of Chechnya peace, he may be able to achieve first round win, although that may be wishful thinking.
3. In any event, he is virtually assured of a second round runoff win.
4. 2-0!

### **B. Repeat urging of Iran Sanctions to show strength on foreign policy**

1. Allies will raise short term hell over our extra-territoriality
2. But, we can explain it is pre-election and the Republicans would likely pass it anyway and we would have to sign it
3. Then, you have the power to determine which companies get sanctioned and how much. That gives you enormous power in leveraging the allies over a host of issues

### **C. Boutros-Boutros Ghali**

1. Letting him be re-elected would be a disaster
2. We have a veto
3. Jamie Rubin reports that support for him is very thin and easily disrupted
  - a. He thinks that you are being sold a "bill of goods" by your NSC and should be aggressive in opposing him. I agree.

### **D. Reaction to my work for an accused rapist: None.**

1. Have you heard of charge that Dick Morris,, a political advisor to the Pres, was an advisor to the defense team in a rape trial?

Yes--9

No/Don't know--91

2. Dole said "one of the President's top advisors is helping an accused rapist beat the rap. He has been advising the rapist's legal team on techniques for selecting an easy going jury" More likely to vote Clinton...?

More likely--8

Less likely--21 No difference: 67

3. "Clinton's advisors points out that all he did was to take a survey to measure the effect of pre-trial publicity in the rape case and found that since 85% of the people had heard of the case in the community in which it was to be tried that the trial should be moved to either of three nearby towns where fewer people had heard of it..." More likely to vote Clinton...?

More likely--10

Less likely--16

No diff : 71

4. "Clinton campaign points out that Clinton has been very strong in prosecuting rapes and preventing them and the activities of one of his advisors in no way reflects on his position on rape." More likely to vote Clinton...?

More likely-- 16

Less likely--16

No diff: 65.

#### E. Genital Mutilation

We are trying to throw out a woman from Togo who fled here and sought asylum on the grounds of human rights in her effort to escape surgery for genital mutilation. A.M. Rosenthal of the Times ran a special column on it and it sounds like he cares very, very deeply. Recommend that we drop our prosecution of this poor woman and add genital mutilation to the grounds for asylum. Right now the regulation says it can be considered, but needs to be changed so that if a woman can prove that she is in danger of this procedure, that they be granted asylum.

In addition, he urges that you set up a fund to educate people abroad about the need to stop genital mutilation.

He suggests that we might amass such a fund by assessing a 1% charge against each nation's foreign aid allocation. This would be enough to establish a fund of about \$100 million.

He also recommends punishment against any nation that did not have an effective program to fight mutilation by a reduction in foreign aid (perhaps a contribution to this fund) and a reward if they have such a program.

It effects 2 million women a year and involves the removal of their clitoris.

It is Rosenthal's big thing and will have a big impact on the courting and feeding of the NY Times.

F. Jamie Rubin

Recommend that Jamie Rubin be brought over from UN to campaign. He wants to do it and we need a foreign policy person in the campaign since NSC is so obtuse

G. Tom Freedman and Travel

Every week, your legal people raise objections to Tom Freedman on the plane, citing that part of this trip or that one are official.

But, I need him to see as many of your speeches as possible. So where the trip involves official travel and he cannot be on AF One, please issue instructions for the campaign to pay for his private coach class air ticket to the event so that he may attend and give me feed back.

This is very important to us both. Among the slips he has caught -- before Dole did -- are:

1. "Americans are confused" in L.A.
2. "US may not be dominant power in future" in Florida
3. I caught "chief threat Chinese represent is pollution" in CT.

Beyond these faux pas, he gives me a close insight to how you are moving ahead rhetorically and helps me to poll where you are going and come up with words to help you get there.

## AGENDA FOR MEETING WITH PRESIDENT ON JUNE 6, 1996

I. TRACKING - SLIGHT SLIP IN HEAD TO HEAD AND OTHER RATINGS  
DOLE FAVORABLE DROPS SLIGHTLY

## A. Head to head lead down to 15 from 16 -- from 52-36 to 52-37

1. Had been 19 pts three weeks ago, then to 17 two weeks ago, then to 16 last week, now to 15

## B. Other internals drop slightly

1. Job approval at 58 (down from 62)

- a. some cause for concern in drop, but other numbers are pretty good

- b. historic norm in this measurement is 59, so slight drop

2. Favorability down to 58 (from 59)

- a. historic norm has been 58

3. Re-elect number steady at 49

- a. historic norm is 49

4. Conclusion: Our last pylon in our rock climb was at about 59 job approval, fav of 58, re-elect of 49, vote lead at 15, vote share 52

- a. then we made tentative gain of 3-4 points above each number.

- b. this has erased that tentative gain:

1. whitewater verdict

- 21 minutes of network news this week

2. start of opposition ads at \$3 million

3. resignation

4. massive free media spin for him

5. Israel elections

- 52 minutes of network this week

- c. but no slippage below our pylon

- d. if this is all these events cost us, we're damn glad

C. Dole's favorability drops slightly from 48-47 to 48-48

1. threatened upward move of favorability into the 50s has not materialized

D. Not much change in issues and adjectives:

8 - gained  
10 - lost

clear stands on issues	+7
does right even if unpopular	+5
strong leader	+3
flip flop	+2 (gain for us)
on my side	+2
new ideas	0
effective	-1
Budget Balance	-1
vision	-1
Does things because are right	-5
in touch with my values	-6
peacemaker	-6
welfare	+7
economy	+6
crime	+3
education	-1
foreign policy	-3
health care	-3
taxes	-6

E. We are winning key Republican issues -- very important

1. Crime: Clinton 49-41

2. Welfare: Clinton 54-39

a. we have won the welfare issue !!!!

3. Taxes: Clinton 43-42

a. we are beginning to turn the tax issue



#### 4. Balance the Budget: Clinton 44-34

#### F. Whitewater

1. President and First lady are at their all time high in perception of wrongdoing

- a. Hillary up to 50 wrongdoing

1. one above historic high

- b. President up to 37% wrongdoing

1. at historic high

2. Jury verdict made voters less likely to back Clinton

less likely: 48%

3. Starr slipped in his credibility in week after verdict to a new low

serious fair inquiry by Starr--30

politically driven--60

(pre verdict had been 26-59. post verdict was 38-52)

Big development. Had not anticipated this drop. He overreached.

4. D'Amato remains highly negative

serious fair inquiry by D'Amato--23

politically driven--68

#### G. Other Ratings

1. Hillary favorable at 49-45 (from 47-45)

2. Dem v Rep candidate for Congress at 45-38 (from 43-34 on 5/14)

3. Balanced budget — recovered slight slippage

- a. who trust to balance budget — Clinton down 2 (from Clinton -7)
- b. ....in way to be fair to all — Clinton +8 (from +9)
- c. who blame for failure to agree — Repubs more 16 (from R 23)
- d. who blame — Dole more 5 (from Dole more 3)

4. Negative Campaigning — no real change

- a. Dole more negative by 50-21 (from 52-18)
- b. Dole too negative 70-22 (was 67-24)
- c. Clinton too negative 40-51 (38-52)

5. Network news coverage for the week

a. Topics Covered:

Israeli elections- 51 minutes  
Montana Freeman- 29 minutes  
Whitewater- 21 minutes  
March for Children- 12 minutes  
Bosnia war crimes- 8 minutes  
Church fires- 7 minutes  
Value Jet- 7 minutes  
Russian election- 4

## b. Clinton v Dole

	<u>Clinton</u>	<u>Dole</u>
May 28	Whitewater verdict (3 networks)-neg Agent Orange (1 network)	None
May 29	none	Whitewater (2 nets) Crime speech (1 net)
May 30	Curfew (2 nets) Israeli election (1 network)	Israeli election (1 net)
May 31	no	no
June 1	Israeli election (1 network)	Israeli election (1 net) Attack Clinton char (2 nets)
June 2	no	no
June 3	Response on bal budget attack (2 nets)	budget speech (3 nets)
June 4	Princeton speech (3 nets) Japanese air attack (1 net)	Response to Princeton (1 net) Senate farewell
June 5	Medicare (1 network)	Medicare (1 network)

Positive Clinton + Negative Dole = 9

Positive Dole + Negative Clinton = 18

## II AD CAMPAIGN

A. Last night's mall test shows power of tuition tax credit issue

B. We are now assessing how to answer expected Republican attack on tax cut promises "the big whopper"

a. will test tuition tax credit positive

b. will test combination positive and negative

c. have already tested pure negative and it works well

C. Republican bio ad on Dole is waste of time:

74% already know of Dole's wound and loss of use of right arm

### III THE CHARACTER ISSUE

A. Dole statement: Race is about character to be President. War record, hospital bed, Clinton ducked draft, womanizing, sex harassment, Whitewater convictions

more likely Dole: 47 more likely Clinton: 46

B. Clinton reply: Character issue is who will do the most to help America's children grow up with character to preserve our values. Family leave, tobacco ads, assault rifles, V chip, head start, school anti-drug, Dole opposed each. That's the real character issue

more likely Dole: 37 more likely Clinton: 56

—the character attack does little in the first place, and we can take it back by hitting them on public values vs. private character

C. Republicans attack Clinton for stealing their ideas

true v untrue: 44-51

more v less likely to vote for Clinton: more: 49 less: 36

—may or may not be true, but its a compliment if it is!

D. Republicans attack Clinton for talking conservative and governing liberal

true vs. untrue: 45-38

more vs. less likely to vote for Clinton: 45-45

—blunted the impact

E. Republicans say Clinton promised balanced budget, tax cut, welfare reform but instead raised taxes, vetoed bal budg and welf ref. Clinton says Repubs went too far so he vetoed, Clinton broadened death penalty, 100,000 cops, teen mothers in school, ratings for TV, conservative steps

More likely Clinton: 59 less likely: 34

— values win out over flip-flop

F. Thus, the values agenda permits us to defeat -- in an exchange -- the two leading negatives that have dogged us: character and flip-flop

#### IV MEDICARE — REPUBLICAN CUTS HURT THEM, BUT DON'T GO INTO SPECIFIC IMPACT OF CUTS

A. The cuts make voters less likely to back Dole, but they do not believe us when we warn of dire consequences of cuts — so don't overreach

##### 1. Hospitals forced to close:

believable: 17-62

more/less likely vote Dole 32-59

##### 2. Rural hospitals close

believable: 20-49

more/less likely vote Dole 32-57

##### 3. Hospitals close wings and units

believable: 29-50

more/less likely vote Dole 33-56

##### 4. Cuts in hospital personnel, nurses

believable: 32-46

Likely vote: 30-57

## 5. drop in cleanliness in hospitals

believable: 18-71

likely vote: 29-58

## 6. less qualified staff in hospitals

believable: 23-58

likelihood vote 31-58

## 7. cuts in staff training and medical education

believable: 22-58

likelihood vote 32-57

## 8. cuts in research

believable: 30-46

vote: 31-58

## V COMP TIME -- KEY INITIATIVE FOR NEXT WEEK

## A. Strongly supported

: 71-25 (41% strongly)

## B. Tremendous help/let parents be with kids -- 59

vs.

employers would never give time off/would hurt workers -- 31

support 59-31

## C. Need initiative of major magnitude for next week

**D. Urge approval**

1. issues: should workers be covered if they make under \$12 an hour

favor coverage: 66-24

. argument: employees under \$12 are easily intimidated by bosses to forgo extra money they need - 66

vs

give all employees the option of comp time - 28

still favor coverage by same margin

2. How to protect employees from employer pressure not to use the time:

1. Republican bill provides for automatic cash-in of time after 240 accumulated comp time hours

a. seems like too high a figure

b. at whose option will comp time be taken

2. Republicans give employers power to say no to any particular day

3. Unions want automatic employee right to schedule time

4. We should urge something in between

## VI NEW INITIATIVE: FAMILY LEAVE PART 2

## A. Retroactive view of family leave

1. more likely to vote for Clinton 72-21
2. legislation did all we need to do to allow people to take time off for family matters--34

vs.

was a major success, concerns never materialized, need to do more to help workers balance work and family --54

- B. Proposal: allow employees 4 hours off each month, at their own discretion, without pay for medical visits, doctors visits for kids, school functions, etc

Support -- 69-28 (49 strong support)

Fully as potent an issue as family leave ever was

1. 1 hour a month for PTA conferences or school volunteer work

87-11 (66 strong support)

2. 4 hours a month for medical needs of children or aged parents

87-13

3. 2 hours a month for own medical needs

77-26

4. These proposals burdens employers too much vs. allow employees to do what they do now without fear

burden: 22

do what they now do but without fear: 73

5. Should we encourage or require

encourage: 39

require: 58



6. allowing comp time would solve problems, wouldn't need these new rights vs. need new rules

comp time enough 32  
need new rules 61

7. allowing the equivalent of one week's leave to participate in proceedings aimed at adopting a child

81-16

**C. Give employees right to refuse overtime**

1. right to refuse overtime whenever employee wants -- 73-26

--41% strong support

2. right to refuse overtime above 40 hrs per year 62-25

**D. Encouraging business to set up employees at home with computers, faxes, dedicated phone lines to increase number of people who work from home**

73-25 (43 strong support)

**VII CRIME VICTIMS AMENDMENT**

A. Need not endorse a specific text

B. Can specify whatever limitations you want in speech,

C. But urge endorsement of principle of Const Amend on victims rights

a.. Dole has already endorsed and we cannot leave this wedge open for him to drive an ad through

**VIII FOREIGN POLICY**

A. What are important issues?

1. Voters think nuclear terrorism, drugs, and Iran-Iraq are important

2. Strong isolationist sentiments

3. Trade decidedly less important than terrorism issues, but more important than traditional country issues like Russia, China, Korea, etc

4. Moral values like human decency and freedom more important than national interests and political values like spreading democracy and freedom

#### Importance of Global Issues

% Extremely Important

Keeping nuclear weapons out of the hands of terrorists	92
Stopping nuclear weapons from going to nations like Iran	84
Stopping the flow of drugs into the U.S.	84
Protecting values of human decency and freedom	74
Opening foreign markets to American products	66
Protecting American workers from foreign trade competition	60
Stopping Japan from taking advantage of us	60
Stopping Russia from returning to Communism	58
Coping with the threats posed by China	58
Stopping war from breaking out in Korea	56
Protecting America's interests abroad	55
Spreading democracy and liberty abroad	43
Stopping trade wars between us and our trading partners	41
Helping Eastern Europe become democratic and free	30

#### Summary of Importance of Global Situation

	Importance
Terror-- Iran-Iraq	84-92
Drugs	84
Isolationist responses	74-80
Values	74
Trade	60-66
Illegal Immigration	58
Making Mexico pay	59
Russia-China-Korea	56-58
Middle East	47
Spreading Democracy and Liberty	43
Eastern Europe	30
Mexico-economy	24

## B. What has Clinton Achieved

1. Taking strong action to protect America, as in the Gulf against Iran works best
2. Voters don't believe we did much on nuclear proliferation and opening foreign markets
3. Voters believe we did good things in Bosnia, Mideast, Ireland, and Haiti, but they aren't very important to them

### Credibility and Importance of Clinton Accomplishments

	Credibility	Importance	Index
Clinton took strong action to defend America by giving it the tools it needs and by using force when necessary, such as deterring Iraqi threats in the Persian Gulf.	53	68	172
Clinton reduced nuclear threat, making unprecedented progress in curbing proliferation of nuclear weapons in the former Soviet Union and North Korea.	35	69	139
Clinton advanced peace in Mid-East and Northern Ireland playing a crucial role in helping people in these regions reach their first-ever peace agreements.	42	54	138
Clinton stopped fighting in Bosnia, ending four years of terror, war, and ethnic cleansing.	39	57	135
Clinton restored Democracy to Haiti, effectively ending the violent and oppressive regime which encourages the dangerous flow of refugees to U.S. shores.	40	54	134
Clinton cracked open foreign markets, creating high wage for American workers and benefits for American business through agreements such as NAFTA.	36	60	132

Also tested: Is Clinton losing the respect of world leaders: 43-52 he isn't

Only Strength really works as accomplishment

### C. Comparison of Clinton and Dole

1. Adjusting to change, Innovation, and Strength work best for us as comparisons

2. Only making tough decisions is close

#### Clinton/Dole Comparison

	Who would do better job?	
	Clinton	Dole
Adjusting to new situations as they develop throughout the world	59	35
Innovation in foreign policy	57	37
Strength in foreign policy	56	39
Steadiness in foreign policy	51	38
Judgment in foreign policy	51	35
Making tough decisions about foreign policy	49	47

Big win for foreign policy effort that strength goes for us

**D. Dole Negatives**

1. What works is: rigid-inflexible/ can't inspire youth/ doesn't get  
peacekeeping/ not modern world leader

**Dole Negatives**

	Credibility	Importance	Index
Dole will be too rigid and inflexible.	51	64	166
Dole won't be able to appeal to the young people of the world to follow America's example and our leadership.	46	66	158
Dole won't understand how American military must excel at peacemaking, not just at winning wars.	35	71	141
Dole won't be a modern world leader.	37	65	139
Dole won't be able to adjust enough to changes as they take place throughout the world.	34	59	127
Dole is too much of a legislator to be an effective world leader.	33	61	127
Dole, too often, will act unilaterally, with the United States going it alone and not taking account of world opinion and the views of our allies.	31	54	116
Dole won't be able to inspire other countries to follow our policies.	26	64	116
Dole lacks actual, hands on experience in foreign policy.	29	57	115
Dole will be too dominated by his right wing colleagues like Jesse Helms.	32	48	112

	Credibility	Importance	Index
Dole won't understand global economy and won't be able to advance American interests in it.	23	66	112
Dole won't be able to tame the isolationists in his party.	32	44	108
Dole will bring a cold war mentality to international situations.	24	58	106
Dole too often will respond with only the military and not use other tools like economic sanctions and persuasion often enough.	21	63	105
Dole won't be able to adjust to the realities of the post cold war world.	28	46	102
Dole won't pay enough attention to trade issues.	19	59	97

## STATEMENT ON FOREIGN POLICY

We live in a rapidly changing(a) world where new threats, often involving (b) terrorism, drug trafficking, and rogue states like Iran and Iraq, command our attention and threaten our security. We need a President who is strong(bb) and can innovate(c) and adjust to new situations to confront these threats.

President Clinton has shown himself to be(d) strong, innovative and able to adjust to change. He has used his ability to innovate and adjust to change to keep America(e) out of war and to defend our values of decency and freedom(f) throughout the world. In the new global environment, he has taken (g)strong action to defend America by giving the military the tools it needs and by using force when necessary, such as in deterring Iraqi threats in the Persian Gulf.

Dole is(h) too rigid and inflexible to adjust to these changes and cannot inspire the young people of the world to follow America's example, leadership and values. He cannot be a(i) modern world leader who understands these changes and adjusts to them. In particular, he is ill equipped to grasp the need for our (j)military to excel at peacemaking, not just at winning wars.

- (a) Dole not seen as adjusting to change.
- (b) Terrorism, drug trafficking, and Iran-Iraq were seen as top three threats.
- (bb) Strength works to our advantage over Dole
- (c) Clinton's top three advantages over Dole are strength, innovation and adjustment to change.
- (d) See (c).
- (e) Keeping America out of war was the fourth greatest foreign policy concern, right after terror, Iran-Iraq, and drugs.
- (f) Values of decency and freedom were top positive generic theme at 74, well above "spreading democracy and liberty" at 43.
- (g) Of five Clinton achievements-(nuclear threat, defend America, Bosnia peace, Mideast-Ireland, and Haiti) only defend America was credible.
- (h) Dole's three highest negatives are rigid-inflexible, can't adjust, can't inspire young.
- (i) Dole's fourth negative was not a modern world leader.
- (j) Dole's fifth negative as military peacemaking vs wars.

## IX PAUL TAYLOR

A. We do not want a "blockade" format where all three nets run the same side by side presentation at the same time, increasing viewership

1. It shows Dole at his best: talking into camera with teleprompter for a minute or two

2. It will defuse tension about the debates. We will win debates, so we want high viewership

B. Tactic: start accepting individual offers by individual networks before Taylor can coordinate them. Then say we have accepted enough so we don't have to participate in "roadblock" and can kill it

## X NEW ISSUES

A. Capital Gains Tax Cut -- Support a cut

1. Support 53-30

2. After argument -- stimulate new investment and growth -- 49

vs

help rich investor and enlarge deficit -- 38

3. Will it be revenue neutral

believable: 50 not believable: 40

--pretty good on believability

4. If loss of revenue is offset by other savings back cut 59-27

5. Would back capital gains cut for companies that locate in inner cities and draw more than a third of their workers from there

65-22

6. Support exempting up to \$500,000 of capital gains from home sales

55-28



**B. Delaney Bill – Cancer additives**

1. Delaney Bill bans color additive or drug in food supply that increases cancer risk. Dole change law to allow “negligible or insignificant” cancer risk. Will cut regulations, more flexibility, better foods, lower costs. vs. Clinton opposed. Never quite know full effects of some carcinogens until it is too late

Agree Dole: 25

Agree Clinton: 67

**C. Statutory Rape Laws**

1. More enforcement

support 70-14

2. Make it a more serious crime with a longer sentence if pregnancy results

support 84-15

3. Argue: gives govt harsher penalties for child support and discourage older men from making a teen girl pregnant – 58

vs.

current laws strict enough and won't really solve problem - 38

**D. Drug testing of parole and probation**

support 75-22 (50 strong support)

1. we do it at federal level, explore cutoff of fedl funds if not done by states (will poll more)

**E. Give adoption tax credit to anyone who adopts the child of his or her spouse, making binding legal commitment to child's support**

support 86-13 (58 strong support)

## XI MISCELLANEOUS

### A. People know Dole's war record, all these ads don't supply new information

1. Did Dole serve in WW II 72-4
2. What happened to him (open ended)

wounded 41  
lost use of right arm 33  
paralyzed, never walk 7

### B. Opposition to Off Shore Oil Drilling

1. Oppose ban on off shore oil drilling
2. Oppose ban on off shore drilling in California, New Jersey, and Fla

42-50

### C. Partial Birth Abortion

1. We have turned away criticism on this issue with President's stand up performance on it. Now back veto by 55-40

### D. Takings Legislation

1. Support 56-33
2. But reverses after VP Gore's creative argumentation -

Argue: protect property owners from environmental laws that strangle business and landowners lose money from development curbs - 27

vs

paying companies to do what they should do anyway, clean up their pollution and meet standards to protect our environ - 65

## AGENDA FOR MEETING WITH THE PRESIDENT, JUNE 12, 1996

### I. TRACKING -- THE SLIDE CONTINUES -- WE STAY STEADY, DOLE RISES

#### A. Clinton not down, Dole is up. Head to head from 52-37 to 53-39

##### 1. Since May 14, race has gone from 54-35 to 53-39

a. We lost a point we had not really solidly gained  
(just one prior week at 54)

##### B. But Dole has gained steadily from 35 to 39

#### B. Clinton's positive ratings are not down, but are actually up slightly

##### 1. Job approval up from 58 to 60

##### 2. Favorability up from 58 to 61

##### 3. Re-elect number up from 49 to 51

##### 4. FBI has not hurt much at all

##### 5. Our ads, tuition, curfews, church burnings issues are all moving us up

#### C. But Dole is rising. We are letting him get off the mat

##### 1. Dole favorability up from 48-48 to 51-45

2. In a three way race, Perot drops from 14 to 11 as rumors that he won't run Mount. Dole picks up all these votes rising from 31 to 36 in a Three way (was 48-31-14; now 47-36-11)

#### D. Adjectives reflect Dole's rise

	Last week	This Week	Change
Big Dole Gains:			
Clear stands on issues	43-41	39-46	minus 9
Doing a lot to balance the budget	44-34	43-41	minus 8
Doing right even if unpopular	49-34	46-39	minus 8
Flip flops	60-25	65-22	minus 8
Strong leader	50-41	47-45	minus 7

1. Hillary favorable from 49-47 to 48-43

2. Budget:

A. Who trust more to balance Repubs from 44-42 to 46-40

B. Who trust more fair to all Clinton from 48-40 to 46-42

C Who blame for no bal budg deal

1. Blame Repubs from 33-49 to 35-51

2. Blame Cl v Dole 35-40 (blame D more) to 39-38 (tie)

D. Which budget favor: Clinton's from 49-40 to 46-42

E. Not much gain for 2 weeks of TV negatives and amendment floor fight

3. Negative Campaigning

A. Who does more? Dole from 50-21 to 49-22

B. Is Dole too negative? Yes from 70-22 to 67-24

C. Is Clinton too negative? No from 40-51 to 42-48

## II. NEWS WATCH FOR WEEK

A. Time allocated on networks to Issues

	Number of stories	Total time
1. Freeman	14	31 minutes
2. Church fires	16	25
3. Dole resigns	6	17
4. Alaska fires	8	14
5. FBI files	10	11
6. Dole/Abortion	7	10
7. Dole Interviews	3	9
8. Russian election	6	9
9. Valujet	4	7
10. Ron Brown plne	5	6

11. Travel Office	3	6
12. Unemploy	3	5
13. Whitewater	1	4
14. Dole--bal bud	1	2
15. Dole-election	1	2
16. Clinton FHA	1	1
17. Clinton SF trip	2	1

#### B. Totals on Network

Positive Dole 38 minutes  
Negative Clinton 14 minutes

Pro Dole total 52 minutes

Negative Dole 0 minutes  
Positive Clinton 20 minutes

Pro Clinton Minutes: 20 minutes

#### C.. By Day

	Pro Clinton	Pro Dole
Wed. June 5	Medicare 1 net	Medicare 1 net
Thurs, June 6	Mortgages 2 nets	Balanced Budget 1 nets Abortion 1 net
Fri, June 7	Unemploy 2 nets Church fires 1 net Bosnia 1 net	Economy 1 net Abortion 2 nets Senate record 1 net
Sat, June 8	Church fires 3 nets	FBI files 3 nets Dole on past Presidents 1 net
Sun, June 9	Crime 1 net	FBI files 3 nets Move to center, Powell 1 net
Mon, June 10	Church fires 2 nets	FBI files 2 nets Dole Interview 1 net

Tues, June 11

none

Leaves Senate 3 nets  
Interviews 2 nets  
Challenges ahead 1 net

**D. Recommendations for coming week:**

Monday: Russian elections

Tuesday: Order requiring identification of Dads for welfare

Wednesday: Crime Victims Amendment

Thursday: More on church fires

Suggest 1 hour every Monday, Tues, Wed, and Thurs in Washington  
Reserved for unspecified message event

**E. Voters who have heard of different developments in campaign**

Clinton's condemning church bombings 80

(62-21 more likely vote Cl over Dole)

FBI files 57

(33-38 more likely Dole over Cl)

Clinton's \$1500 tax credit for tuition 50

(51-29 more likely vote Cl over Dole)

Dole's move to center on abortion 50

(41-37 more likely vote Cl over Dole)

Dole's bal budg amend and Cl opposition to it 50

(43-38 more likely Cl over Dole)

Clinton FHA closing cost cut 44

(51-27 more likely vote Cl over Dole)

Dole backs tax cut 36

(36-43 more likely Dole over Clinton)

**Lessons:**

- A. church bombings beat out FBI
- B. FHA was disproportionately high
- C. Tax cuts began to work for Dole
- D. Public is not in an uproar over church bombings, just somewhat Negative
- E. Abortion, bal budg amendment did not do much to help Dole

**III. FBI FILES -- PUBLIC DOESN'T BELIEVE US AT ALL**

- A. Was there a White House Coverup of Watergate like activities or was it simply a mistake and the white house asked for the wrong files

Watergate-style coverup	52
Simple mistake	26

**B. With Argumentation --**

Even with argumentation, people are inclined to disbelieve what we say

**1. First we tried summary argument:**

If Army investigator who asked for files swears that he got them as part of routine security work and got wrong files

Coverup --	46
Mistake--	42

**2. Then we tried Republican attack --**

Among files was Bill Dale, Republicans charge white house trying to dig up dirt. Clinton supporters say was bureaucratic error

Agree Republicans 50  
Agree Clinton supporters 38

3. Last, we tried extensive explanation. It did no better than short one

White house says error was because the needed to review files of who had access to the White House. But got an old list of those who had access under Bush. By the time the guy reviewing the files realized the mistake he had gotten up to G. Dale's file was, as a result, one of those examined. Repubs say convenient mistake and Clinton always stonewalls

More likely Clinton: 43  
More likely Dole: 42

4. Conclusion: the issue a loser for us no matter how we argue it. Best course is to distract attention with other issues

#### IV. DOLE AND ABORTION

A. Dole announced favor changes in anti-abortion plank. Still pro life but reasonable people can disagree

More likely Dole -- 52  
Less likely Dole -- 41

Works well for him.

B. Argument:

Supporters of Dole doing right thing, turning down volume, less polarizing. Opponents say he's pro-life will still appoint judges to make abortion illegal

More likely Dole: 41  
Less likely Dole: 54

C. Conclusion: He has successfully blunted abortion issue and best we can do is to make it perform at our head-to-head. Will never again be a leader issue for us

We have blunted partial birth abortions (10 point positive view of veto). He has blunted his vulnerability. It will not play a big role with marginal voters in the campaign

Reason: voters mainly don't want abortion in the public debate. They are sick of both sides and think that they should have agreed long ago. They want to turn their attention to other issues and also feel that such discussion of an essentially private topic is